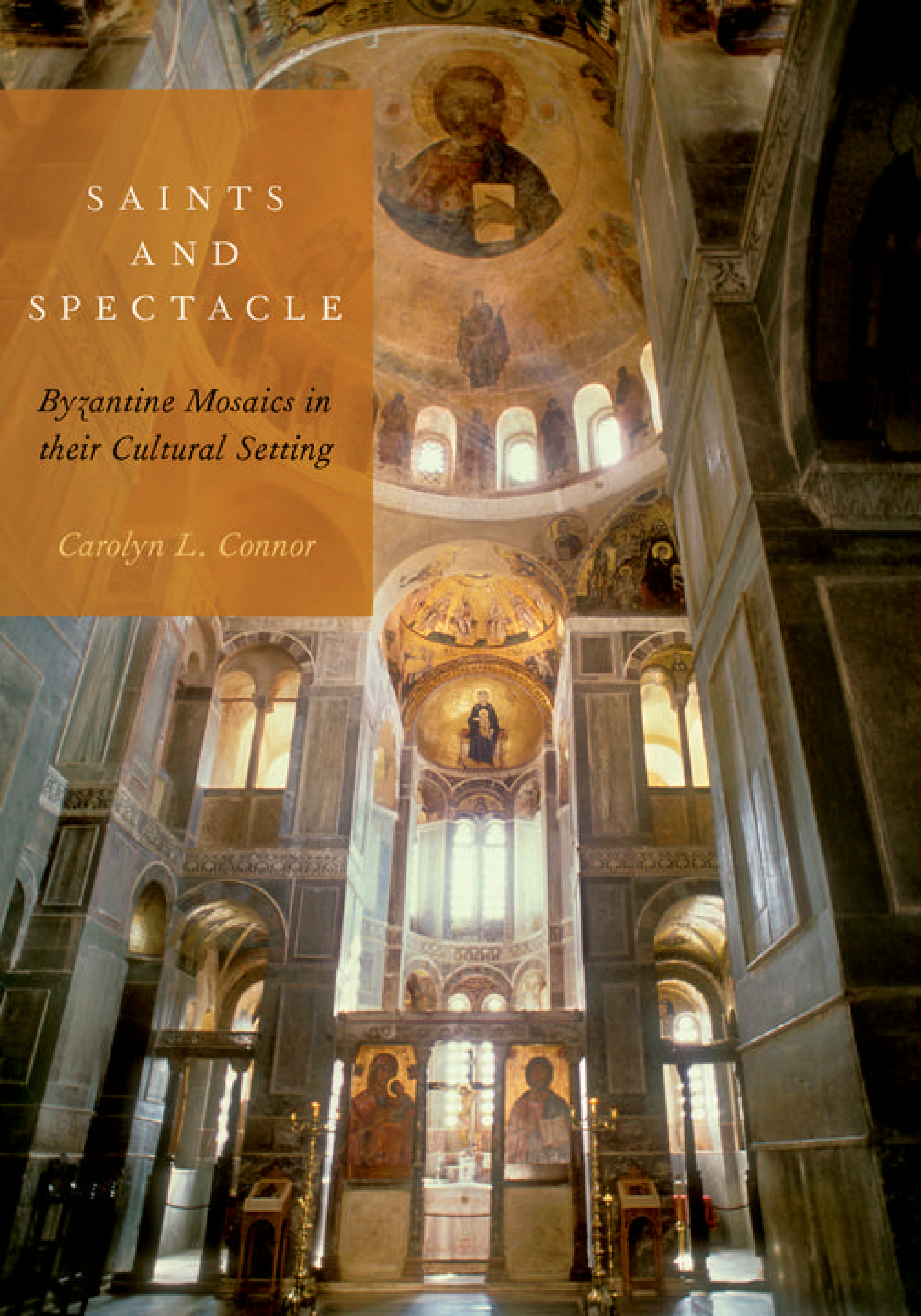
SAINTS AND SPECTACLE

Byzantine Mosaics in their Cultural Setting

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For Aidan, Charlotte, and Prem

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	*The Art Bulletin*
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
BF	*Byzantinische Forschungen*
CA	*Cahiers Archéologiques*
CIEB	*Congrès International des Études Byzantines: Actes*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSAH	*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*
Lampe	*G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon. Oxford, 1984.*
LSJ	*H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, A Greek-English Lexikon. Oxford, 1996.*
ODB	*A. Kazhdan, ed., Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, 3 vols. New York and Oxford, 1991.*
PG	*J.-P Migne, ed. Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca. Paris, 1857–1866.*
REB	*Revue des études byzantines*
REG	*Revue des études grecques*
Vogt, De cer	*A. Vogt, ed., Le livre des Cérémonies, 4 vols. Paris, 1935–1939*



Fig. I.1. Hosios Loukas. View of interior of Katholikon through Royal Door, facing east. Photo by author.

INTRODUCTION

THE MOSAICS OF medieval Byzantium do not fade, but appear today just as brilliant, bold, and colorful as when they were first created a thousand years ago. On the high walls and vaults of monastic churches, these glittering ensembles of individual figures and scenes float in an indeterminate space before sparkling gold backgrounds, surrounding and dazzling the viewer. Every curved surface, arch, and dome presents images of saints with eyes open wide, alongside clearly articulated depictions of events from Scripture. All are bordered by richly patterned bands of geometric and floral ornament, and arranged according to an orderly system within a coherent architectural framework. In spite of damage suffered over time, the Middle Byzantine church still retains the power to awe those entering into its otherworldly space through sheer aesthetic force, as for example at Hosios Loukas in Greece (see fig. I.1). And yet, after more than a century of analysis by scholars, the impetus, origins, and rationale behind this system remain elusive.

Three well-preserved churches located in Greece and dating from around the eleventh century have long been recognized as the prime examples of this mosaic art: Hosios Loukas in Phokis, Nea Moni on the island of Chios, and Daphni in Attica.[1] The churches were originally part of functioning monasteries in relatively isolated areas, and are characteristic of such institutions, which were once found all over the former Byzantine Empire and beyond. Rural monasteries were intimately tied to the lives of the inhabitants of the surrounding countryside, as we learn from contemporary Byzantine texts. Likewise, their counterparts, city monasteries, were closely related to their urban districts and wider civic contexts. Monastic institutions played a crucial role in medieval Byzantium not just as places of faith, healing, and pilgrimage, but also as an extension of the policies of local bishops or governors and, ultimately, the Byzantine emperor and Greek Orthodox patriarch residing in the

capital city of Constantinople. Unfortunately, only a small fraction survives of the great number of foundations that once dotted the cities and countryside of the Empire.

Monastic churches of the Middle Byzantine period (843 to 1204) are relatively small compared to their Early Byzantine predecessors; centrally planned and domed, with a cross-shaped plan; and modest in their external appearance. On the interior, however, their applied decoration in mosaics is complex and dynamic in form and content, encompassing the history of Christian salvation, the sanctoral cycle, the rhythms of the liturgical year, and the relationship between God and humankind. There is nothing modest about the messages conveyed through these mosaics, for they represent the essential religious beliefs, aesthetic principles, and shared tenets of the Byzantines, forming the visual counterpart of the written and verbal expressions of Christian faith that are so closely identified with this Orthodox state. Indeed, since images were thought to convey even more effectively than words the religion's mysteries and doctrinal truths, one could claim the mosaics of the medieval period, with their monumental application and huge expense of production, are the highest attainment of the medium and the most powerful signifiers of who the Byzantines were. Their power to evoke the divine presence and to elicit a profound shared response in viewers is well attested, making them the most resonant cultural artifacts to survive the destruction of Byzantine civilization with the conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

Although the vast majority of Byzantine mosaics have been lost, the survival of a handful of well-preserved churches challenges us to ask where, when, and how this extraordinary system of church decoration originated. Such an inquiry takes us to the cultural core of the empire, Constantinople, and the struggle to endow images with a well-defined role and meaning in the wake of Iconoclasm, a period of upheaval of the eighth and first half of the ninth centuries, and an official ban on the production and display of *eikones*, images. The vigor of scholarly debate and publication concerning Iconoclasm has recently produced breakthroughs in our understanding of how the social, political, and military upheavals of the eighth and ninth centuries impacted imperial and ecclesiastical policies of that complex period.[2] Looking inside the cultural context of the period around the end of and immediately following Iconoclasm yields insights into the important role assigned to mosaics at this critical juncture. The sources of initiative, agendas, and intended reception of the medium are embedded within the politico-religious climate of the time. Byzantine mosaics functioned as a carefully honed tool to express and disseminate a shared memory of the past and an eschatological hope for the future. They expressed the linkage between heaven and earth, the identification of the divine with the precious, and the harmony of an empire united under God's sanctioned representative, the emperor.

Why do the surviving mosaic programs present a challenge to modern viewers? To approach the problem, it is necessary first to characterize the decorative scheme as it survives, and then to back up and consider the earlier, pre-iconoclastic applications of the medium. For the mosaic decoration of the Middle Byzantine church is so thoroughly integrated with the architecture, in an aesthetic as well as a physical union, that it is difficult to imagine that one was not developed in relation to the other, through a long process of experimentation. In the balanced arrangement of interior surfaces and the subject matter allotted to them, the domed church building presents the viewer with a harmonious system arranged hierarchically from the top down. Every shimmering segment of surface area and its spatial envelope bears a rational relationship to the whole. To experience the mosaiced church is to enter into a microcosm that is unified not only structurally but also visually and thematically. While each church is unique, all share similar spatial qualities, axiality, and hierarchically arranged imagery, as well as a flexible repertoire of iconographic schemes. The distribution of subjects, complete with their gestures and meanings, complements the structural expression of the building.

Middle Byzantine churches represent the heavenly realm and its divine personages in the highest vaults of the main dome and eastern apse, usually a Christ Pantokrator, or "all powerful"; the Virgin Mary holding the baby Jesus; angels and Old Testament prophets, with the Pantokrator being the image par excellence for representation in the apex of the dome; and the Virgin Mary in the apse. In the zones below, in the squinches, niches, and walls, are depicted liturgically significant events in the history of Christian salvation, starting with the Annunciation to Mary, along with the most honored saints: church fathers, holy bishops, and apostles, continuing with warriors, martyrs, and miracle workers. On the lowest level, in groin vaults and on walls closest to viewers, are local and monastic saints, some with specific ties to the immediate community. All scenes and individual portraits are labeled, reflecting the desire to verify the identity of the subject.[3] This system of densely populated images confronting the viewer from around the walls and vaults of the bema, or sanctuary; naos, or nave; and narthex is so closely shared among the three churches in Greece that scholars have suspected that they had common origins and sources of inspiration.[4] It is unclear, however, what or who was behind the creation of this scheme, and where, when, and why it originated. The genesis of the Middle Byzantine system of mosaic decoration remains a mystery, for we lack evidence of initial stages in the extraordinary synthesis it represents. To say that it was a reaction to Iconoclasm would not be an exaggeration, for vehement, anti-iconoclastic expressions appear in other art forms, as well as literary sources in the period following its resolution.[5] Whatever the aftermath and transition taking place at the end of Iconoclasm in 843, this period offered an opportunity to initiate change in a society that had been deeply disrupted.

Iconoclasm, which lasted from the reign of Leo III (717–741) to 787 and resumed from 814 to 843, was an internal political and religious struggle that destabilized the empire. Its causes, effects, and repercussions are unclear, and are still a hot topic of debate. Issues surrounding figural images—that is, human figures appearing as portraits or in narrative scenes—their use and meaning, and the role of the visual more broadly, however, bore deeply into the assimilated culture of the ancient Near East, Judaism, Islam, and classical antiquity. Social, religious, and psychological anxieties had long existed concerning practices of venerating the holy.[6] Although abundant Christian religious imagery survives and is attested from before Iconoclasm, uncertainties arose regarding the role of these images, in part because of the perception that the Byzantine armies were suffering defeats in their wars with enemies because they were somehow displeasing God. The Bulgarians were encroaching on the Balkans, and the Muslim Arabs were successful in raids on the frontiers. Other examples of divine wrath at Christian practice were thought to include an earthquake and an eruption of the volcano on the Aegean island of Thera in 726. Further uncertainty was caused by external influences from Islam and Judaism. As a way to regain God's favor, images were suppressed starting around 726–730.[7]

Changes in imperial policy happened gradually, and were accompanied by disruptions of relations between Constantinople and Rome, adding yet another layer of complexity to the situation. The Council of Hieria of 754, however, imposed a more stringent imperial and ecclesiastical policy forbidding the creation of figural images, claiming that this constituted disobedience of the Second Commandment:

> Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth; Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them. (Ex. 20:4–5)

Images were equated with idols, as attested in surviving texts.[8] In practical terms, a break began in the production of figural images, whether on walls of churches, in books, on icons, or on other small-scale objects in a variety of media. Although the policy was inconsistently adhered to, it was enforced by the military, and there was some destruction of images and objects decorated with images. But the record has been obscured by the biases and exaggerations of those who were the victors in the struggle. There is scanty evidence of persecution of monastics or destruction of monastic buildings.[9] The only acceptable decorations for churches, in the view of the iconoclasts, were simple crosses or abstract ornament. The best-known examples of destruction of images are in the small *sekreton* of the patriarchate in Hagia Sophia, in which crosses have been substituted for portraits of individuals.[10] The power vested in images is evident from the period of struggle and debate that surrounded

them in the eighth and ninth centuries. Although church decoration was curtailed during Iconoclasm, we are fortunate in the number and high quality of examples that survive from the preceding period.

The fifth- and sixth-century Byzantine churches featuring mosaic programs that survived Iconoclasm through a variety of circumstances can be easily distinguished from the later, eleventh-century mosaiced churches. The most glorious examples are in Ravenna, Italy: San Vitale, Sant' Apollinare Nuovo and Sant' Apollinare in Classe; also striking are the Basilica Euphrasiana at Poreč in Croatia, Saint Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai in Egypt, Kiti on the island of Cyprus, and Hagios Demetrios in Thessaloniki, Greece. Most of these have a concentration of imagery in and around the apse, where a theophanic vision often appears. At Poreč, for example, the enthroned Virgin and Child are surrounded by saints and angels in a heavenly setting; at Sant' Apollinare in Classe, the patron saint witnesses a colossal cross hovering in the sky between angels; at San Vitale a youthful Christ of Revelations is seated on the cosmos between saints and angels, and at Kiti the Virgin and Child appear standing between archangels in a heavenly vision. In a final example of a surviving apse mosaic, at Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, we encounter an epiphanic vision of Christ appearing to the four apostles at the Transfiguration as related in the first three Gospels. The ground of these apse mosaics is at least partly composed of gold tesserae. Indeed, from the beginnings of church building in the fourth century, the apse with its altar was the focal point for images, usually colossal in scale.[11] With the exception of San Vitale in Ravenna, their plans are longitudinal, or basilical, in design. In the case of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, cycles of New Testament scenes appear in panels high on the walls along the nave. In Hagios Demetrios, large ex-voto panels in mosaic honoring the saint/patron of the church are found on piers, and local dedications appear in the spandrels of the nave and side aisles. These basilical structures reflect an ancient Roman tradition with origins in the great early churches of Rome and Jerusalem of the fourth and fifth centuries.[12]

The huge basilicas of late antiquity, often erected by emperors or popes, were grand statements intended to communicate to large segments of the populace the invincibility of the Roman Empire under its new religion, Christianity. Private foundations also celebrated the cults of family or local saints. Vast Christian basilicas, some with lavish mosaic or painted decoration, were once found all over the empire. Best exemplified by the Lateran Basilica, Old Saint Peter's, and San Paolo Fuori le Mura in Rome and the Basilica of Constantine at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, they were all destroyed long ago and rebuilt in a variety of altered forms. The centrally planned Mausoleum of Santa Costanza, built for Constantine's daughter next to the funeral basilica of Sant' Agnese in Rome, was decorated with mosaics around 350; the striking apse composition in Sant' Agnese consists of the saint herself

standing in isolation against a gold ground. The same is true of the apse of the sixth-century Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian in Rome, where the titular saints accompanied by Saints Peter and Paul encounter a vision of Christ in the Heavens.[13] The basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, dating to ca. 432–440, survives with its nave program, an extensive Old Testament cycle, more or less intact,[14] while the mosaic in the apse of the smaller church of Santa Pudenziana evokes a vision of Christ enthroned before an architectural backdrop. He is surrounded by the apostles, and the four evangelist symbols hover in the heavens.[15] The use of mosaics as the medium for church decoration from the early years of Christianity was no accident.

It was in the burial chapels and large funerary churches of Late Antiquity that the mosaic medium first came into its own. Mosaics had been used extensively for the embellishment of floors in Greek and Roman antiquity, although occasionally they were found on walls and vaults. Tesserae made of marble and limestone of many colors were most commonly used. Pliny the Elder briefly described the setting of floor mosaics by craftsmen, who only on rare occasions signed their names; Vitruvius is more informative in describing the underlayment necessary for a sound floor mosaic setting.[16] While floor mosaics continued to appear into the medieval period, it was in the first and second centuries CE in Italy that their application extended to walls and vaults of nymphaea and tombs, before being used in religious settings.[17] In addition, a significant technical innovation was adopted at this time.

The manufacture and use of tesserae made of glass represents the technical innovation that transformed ancient wall treatments, starting in the second quarter of the first century in Rome. After this time, and into the fourth and fifth century, wall and vault mosaics were frequently used in the interior decoration of Christian buildings throughout the Mediterranean world.[18] The simultaneous discovery that thin layers of metallic substances could be sandwiched between the matrix and clear glass opened up a new realm of possibilities and the inception of a new aesthetic. One can only imagine the impact of innumerable gold and silver tesserae covering huge expanses of curved walls and vaults with a glittering tissue of these symbolically and intrinsically rich materials. The use of glass tesserae also gave wall surfaces a new luster and sparkle in the dramatic lighting of oil lamps and candles at night. By the fifth and sixth centuries, the use of gold glass tesserae became standard in the apses, the arch before the apse, and wall panels, creating an impression of the mystical presence of the Holy.[19] The great churches of Late Antiquity were splendid and luxurious beyond imagining in their furnishings as in their mural decoration, and were perfectly calibrated as the setting for elaborate ecclesiastical ritual and the Christian message of redemption.[20]

From this brief characterization of mosaics before Iconoclasm one can glean a general picture of their application. Major Christian churches

from the fourth century on adopted mosaics for both floor and wall decoration. Figural mosaics, however, appeared mainly in the apse and sanctuary. They were also used in panels arranged along the nave that more resembled framed pictures than a form of decoration integral to the architecture itself. In the church of San Vitale in Ravenna, however, a more organic approach can be seen, with bands of mosaic ornament emphasizing the transitions among architectural elements. Overall indications are that, in contrast to these early churches, the appearance and character of mosaiced churches from the period after Iconoclasm differed markedly from those before. Surviving apse compositions from the period of Iconoclasm itself, consisting of simple crosses, indicate the change in practice under Iconoclasm and the rupture it caused within church decoration.[21] The crux of the problem lies in the essential differences between pre- and post-iconoclastic church decoration. In the case of the three Greek churches serving as our prime examples, we are looking at the equivalent of a mature and well-developed tree—one with no apparent roots. We are dealing not with a gradual evolution but with nonincremental change at a juncture when conditions within the political, religious, and artistic context required a new solution.

The Middle Byzantine mosaic program is a complex entity, with all of its components interrelating in a highly refined and developed system. Whereas early Byzantine churches are, for the most part, basilicas with diverse types of programs emphasizing the apse and sanctuary, they are not as tightly defined thematically as their post-iconoclastic successors. The contrast between the Middle Byzantine mosaics and their pre-iconoclastic predecessors forces us to confront some related questions: What features does the Middle Byzantine program owe to its Early Byzantine predecessors, and which are unprecedented? Are the differences in decorative schemes linked to changes in architectural forms, such as the adoption of the centralized plan and the dome? If one cannot posit successive stages or phases of the development of the Middle Byzantine program, then did it arise out of a vacuum, completely de novo? Was there perhaps a single building, an *Urtyp* that abruptly altered the paradigm? Was there a single patron or authority behind a sudden shift in practice, at a particular time in a particular place? Addressing these questions has determined the structure of this book. The chapters build on one another as one set of questions leads to the next. Ultimately, a synthesis of a variety of types of evidence and approaches makes it possible to draw a clear picture of the intended messages, origins, and reception of this complex art form at its apogee.

The first chapter starts by defining the character and appearance of the three well-preserved primary examples of the Middle Byzantine program, in the churches of Hosios Loukas, Nea Moni on Chios, and Daphni, juxtaposing and comparing their architecture and decoration. Pressing questions remain after more than a century of investigation of these mosaics. An important body of iconographic material, a group of

frescoed churches in Cappadocia dating to the tenth century, displays some qualities common to the artistic repertoire of the time. Likewise, isolated examples of surviving mosaics around the empire suggest a measure of consistency among contemporary church programs. In a quantitative and comparative analysis of iconographic features of the most complete decorative programs, there are clear indications of shared sources of inspiration, which point to the lost art of the capital, Constantinople, as a likely source.

In the second chapter I argue that the now-lost churches of Constantinople of the period following Iconoclasm must have served as the models for mosaiced and frescoed churches around the Byzantine Empire. There appears to have been a pronounced influence of the imperial palace in the formulation of a new scheme of decoration, which is seen initially in palace- and imperially funded church foundations. Texts and archaeological evidence concerning lost buildings and their decoration make it possible to reconstruct the interior decoration of two surviving early-tenth-century churches that were converted into mosques after the fall of Constantinople. The symbolism of mosaics as the imperial medium par excellence is established through the testimony of contemporary Byzantine authors, for whom the reflective and aesthetic effects of mosaics are credited with evoking the Divine. Mosaics were the vehicle of choice for conveying visually the truth of Orthodox beliefs.

Chapter 3, on urban culture, draws upon the rich documentation in Byzantine sources and in historical writings to characterize the intellectual climate of the period following Iconoclasm. The sponsors of artistic and scholarly enterprises of this time belonged mainly to a court culture, a learned elite. The ninth and tenth centuries were intensely occupied with preservation and compilation, copying, summarizing, and codifying of all kinds of knowledge about the past. In particular, texts such as the *Typikon of the Great Church*, *Book of Ceremonies*, and *Synaxarium of Constantinople* help us visualize the lively presence of and emphasis on ceremonial in the life of the capital. It becomes clear that imperial and religious leaders not only strove to impose *taxis* (order) on the system of administration, but they also welcomed the reflection of this taxis in art. Mosaics are said to represent a "visual panegyric" of the emperor, through a system of images of cosmic and worldly order and beauty. Intellectual and literary movements under the Macedonian Dynasty (867–1056) are reflected in the systematization of many aspects of daily life, including a tendency to turn Constantinople into a stage for orderly and regularized processions honoring the saints.

In Chapter 4, the sanctoral topography of Constantinople with its ceremonial patterns and densely scheduled calendar of processions in honor of the saints becomes vivid to us with the help of contemporary descriptions of actual ceremonial routes through and around the city. We also encounter the intersection of these processions and mosaics used as

"signposts" during liturgical events, as the many churches harboring the bones of saints or other relics associated with them are incorporated into the larger drama. Images of saints evoke their presence, as the saints are "visited" and venerated as the protectors of emperor, city, and populace. Popular piety joins with imperial protocol in the processions that circulated through and around the city, defining a zone of protection running like a wall around its perimeter. The shared memory of past salvation in historical moments of crisis, combined with present faith in and visualization of this protection, were connoted through the ranks of saints assembled on the walls and vaults of churches around the city.

Finally, in Chapter 5, "Mosaics as a Ritual Art: Mosaics at Work," we approach the role of mosaics through ritual studies to epitomize the ritual dynamic governing the formulation of the Middle Byzantine mosaic program. In this chapter the strands of the preceding chapters are woven together to show how the ancient tradition of spectacular processions was adopted alongside the images of saints at a time of consolidation of knowledge and civic identity to produce a solution to the problem of unifying an empire. After Iconoclasm, strong imperial authority, with the backing of a rejuvenated church and patriarch, imposed patterns on all civic activity and church imagery aimed at promoting an agenda of identifying God's will with imperial will. A theoretical model based on the work of cultural anthropologists helps frame the relation of ritual art and practice together with mosaics and processions. Finally, a return to the three mosaic programs in Greece demonstrates how they accomplished the necessary "work" or task of visually uniting notions of order, protection, and imperial prerogative. The result is a seductive solution to a problem and a dynamic means to an end. The city of Constantinople and the mosaiced church are seen as related arenas of ritual space that underscore the idea of cosmic order regulated by the emperor, in an incontrovertible expression of the central ideology of the Byzantine State.

CHAPTER 1

MIDDLE BYZANTINE MOSAICS

APPEARANCE AND CHARACTER

THREE MONASTIC CHURCHES in Greece are often evoked as the "classic" examples of the Middle Byzantine program of mosaics: the Katholikon of Hosios Loukas, located in the foothills of Mount Helikon west of Thebes; Nea Moni, on the island of Chios; and Daphni, near Eleusis in Attica.[1] The monastery of Hosios Loukas has been variously dated, in the absence of surviving records, leaving us with approximate dates of ca. 950 for the Theotokos and ca. 1000 for the Katholikon with its mosaics and frescoes. The text of the life, or vita, of the monk who founded the monastery, Saint Luke of Steiris, a miracle worker and healer, provides extensive contextual information on monastic practices, the circumstances of the founding of the monastery, and its subsequent expansion after the saint's death in 953 and again after the Byzantine reconquest of Crete in 961. The vita also suggests the patronage of *strategoi*, or ruler-generals, of Hellas along with the participation of an emperor, perhaps Romanus II (959–963), Nicephorus Phocas (963–969), or Basil II (976–1025).[2] The decoration of the Katholikon in mosaics and frescoes must have taken place in the decades after the second expansion of the monastery, in the late tenth or early eleventh century.[3] This is the largest, best preserved, and most extensively decorated of any Middle Byzantine monastic church.

Nea Moni, on the other hand, has been securely dated to the reign of Constantine VII Monomachos (1045–1054). The emperor's participation has been established in connection with Chiote monks who succeeded

in gaining his patronage.[4] Not only has an explicit imperial connection been established in this case, but also the possible model for the church and its mosaics has been suggested as one of several churches in or close to the Imperial Palace in Constantinople, most likely Saint George at the Mangana Palace.[5] Hosios Loukas and Nea Moni were both built during the rule of the Macedonian dynasty (867–1056), a period associated with flourishing of the arts and learning, as well as with the repairing and building of churches.

The Church of the Koimesis at Daphni, located on the ancient Sacred Way between Athens and Eleusis, like Hosios Loukas, is not securely dated. On the basis of style it has been placed at ca. 1100 or slightly later, during the Comnenian dynasty, or, more precisely, the reign of Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118).[6] It is thus the latest of the three by half a century. As we shall see, its general resemblance to the other two in architectural design and mosaic decoration suggests the continuation of a tradition of church building and decoration established in the years after the end of Iconoclasm and continuing under the rulers of the Macedonian and Comnenian dynasties. In this chapter I will first describe the architectural designs and then the mosaics of each of the three Greek churches. It is useful to recognize the numerous ways in which they are comparable, in both their architecture and decoration, while pointing out varying or unique features among the three and among other related buildings. Only then can the case be made for the inspiration for all of these stemming from a common place or source. Since Hosios Loukas is the earliest of the three, we will begin there.

The wide hemispherical dome of the Katholikon of Hosios Loukas rises well above the other, smaller domes and towers of the monastery as seen from the east, along the well-preserved and restored walls of the monastery (see fig. 1.1). Two adjacent and interlocking churches, the Katholikon and the smaller Theotokos, form the architectural and spiritual core of this functioning monastic complex, which includes the customary features of refectory, monastic cells, abbot's residence, warming house, and other utilitarian buildings (see the plan of the monastery, fig. 1.2).[7] The masonry, in its combination of stone and brick, is colorful and decorative. It includes ornamental brickwork in pseudo-Kufic designs, and incorporates ancient *spolia* consisting of large blocks of marble, some of them inscribed.

The interior sculptural decoration on cornices and capitals, opus sectile floors, and polychrome marble revetment indicates lavish expenditure on architectural details. The domed central block of the Katholikon, cubic in shape, is surrounded on all sides and on two levels by subsidiary spaces, chapels, and galleries, in what is known as a domed-octagon design (see figs. 1.3 and 1.4).[8] A deep sanctuary, or bema, extends eastward from the central core, or naos, and it is framed on the north and south by apsed chapels, the prothesis and diaconicon. An entrance hall, the narthex, which has a second story, runs laterally across the west



Fig. 1.1. Hosios Loukas. View of Katholikon and Theotokos Church from the east. Photo by author.

end of the building. Visualizing the complex relationship of architectural elements, spaces, and levels of the Katholikon requires a closer look at plans and elevations.

The lower rim of the dome is supported at eight points on piers. The height of these piers determines the proportions of the building and separates the surrounding spaces of both ground floor and gallery levels into corner chapels and four arms, as in a Greek cross. On the ground level, the cross arms extending to the north and south from the central space are demarcated by columns at the thresholds of the two bays. On the east and west, the cross arms rise the full height of the naos and extend to the outer shell, terminating in the apse of the sanctuary in the east, and the west wall of the naos containing the Royal Door, or main entrance from the narthex into the naos. Four corner chapels form independent spaces surrounding the naos (see figs 1.3 and 1.5).

A second story, the gallery level, also communicates with the central space, with balustrades at the points where galleries open into the naos, on the north, south, and west. As on the main level, corner chapels are formed between the piers and the corners of the outer shell. On the north and south, the vaults of the cross arms extend to the outer walls, creating clerestories that allow daylight to enter directly into the naos. Since the galleries around the naos connect with the gallery level of the narthex to the west, it is possible to circulate around the entire second story of the church, in a U-shaped path, up to the sanctuary

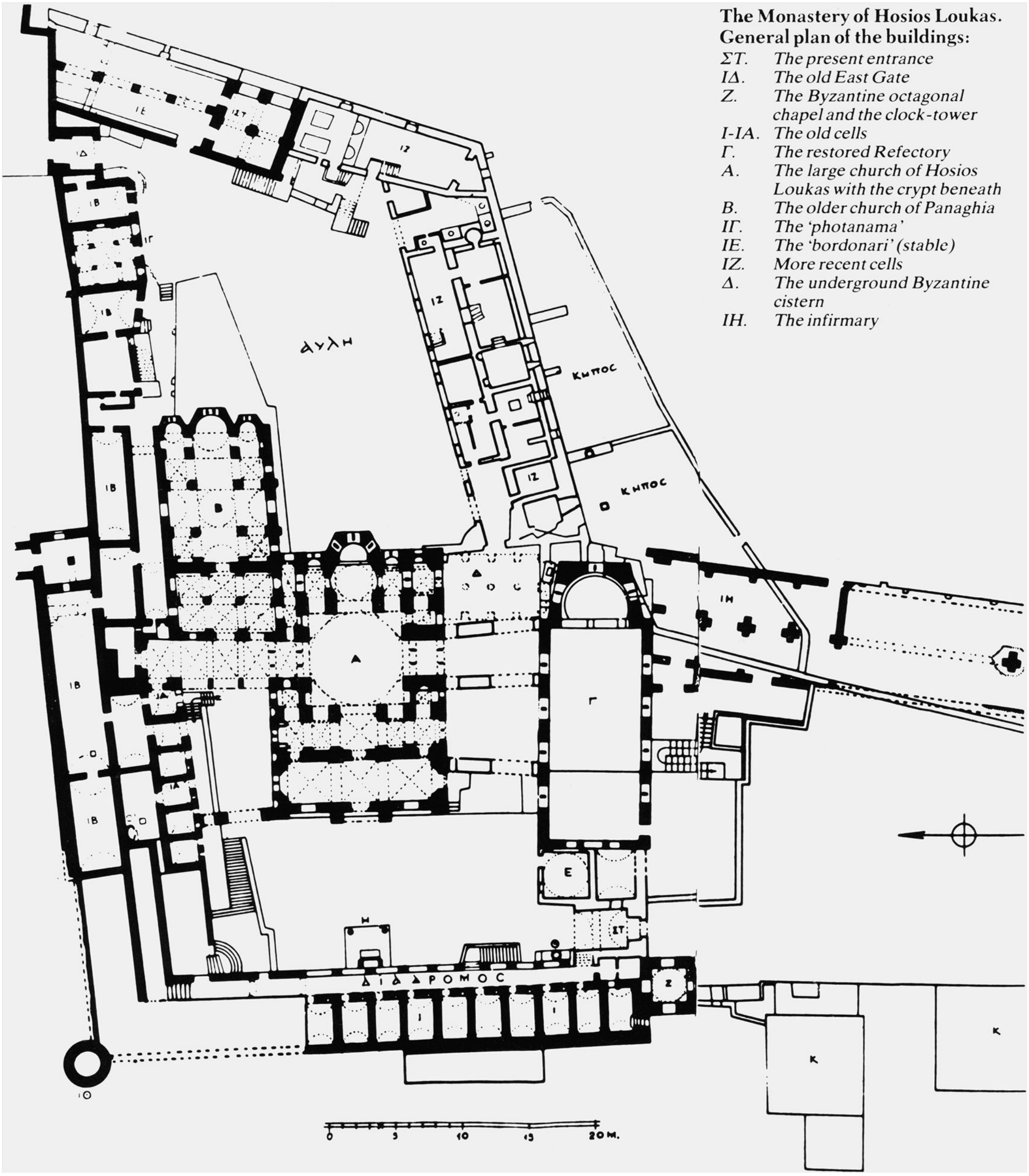


Fig. 1.2. Hosios Loukas. Plan of the monastery. After Lazarides, *Hosios Lukas*, Athens, 1979.

(see fig. 1.6). The narthex is made up of a separate block of six bays, three on the ground level and three at the gallery level, all of which communicate via doors or windows with the naos. Overall the church structure forms a complex, perforated framework around the central space, with direct and indirect natural lighting on three levels, including the dome.

Below the Katholikon is a crypt of nine bays with an entrance porch and steps, accessed from the south side of the church. There are also three ossuary chambers extending westward from the block of nine bays.

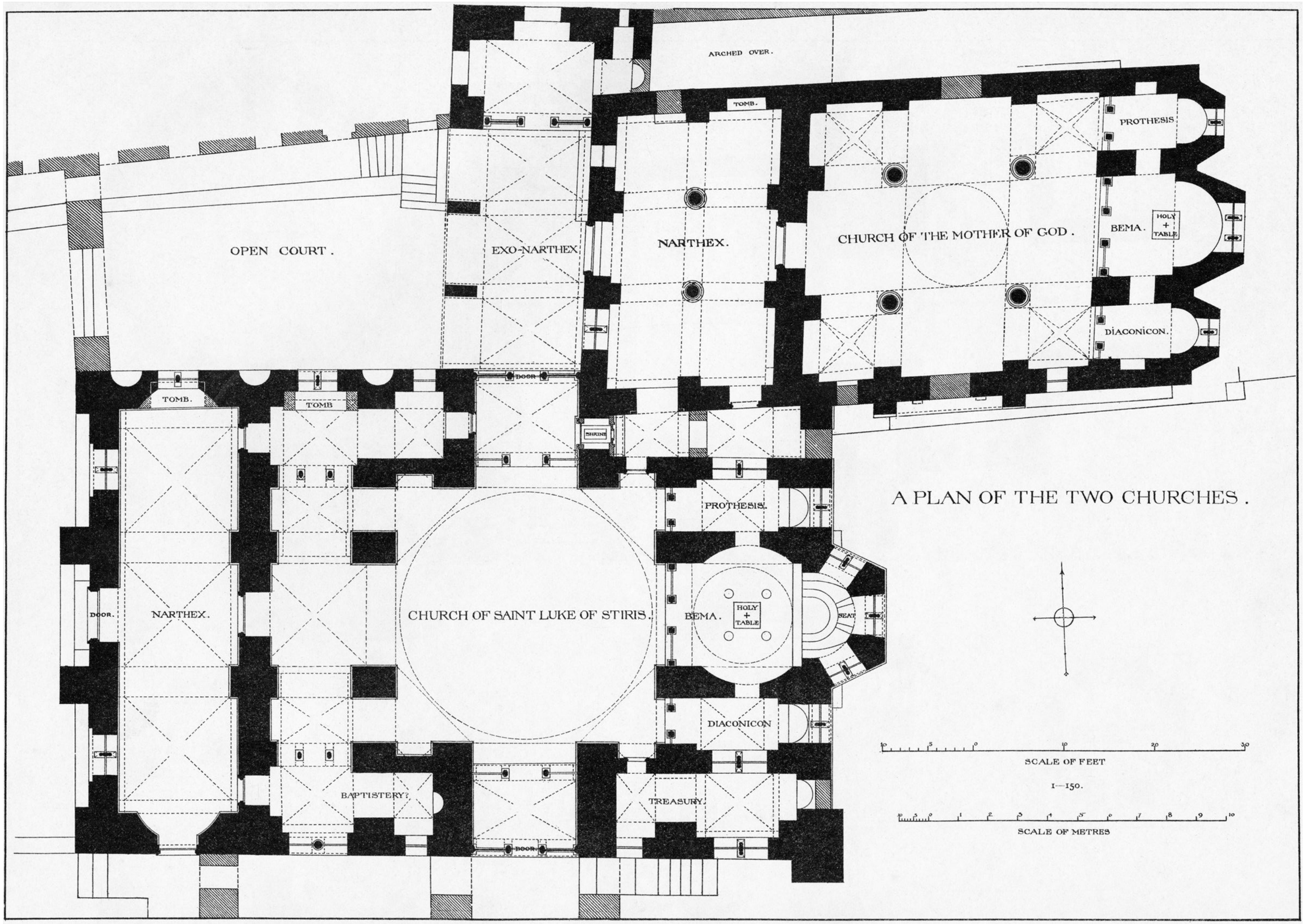


Fig. 1.3. Hosios Loukas. Ground plan of the Katholikon and Theotokos Church. After Schultz and Barnsley, *Monastery of Saint Luke*, pl. 1.

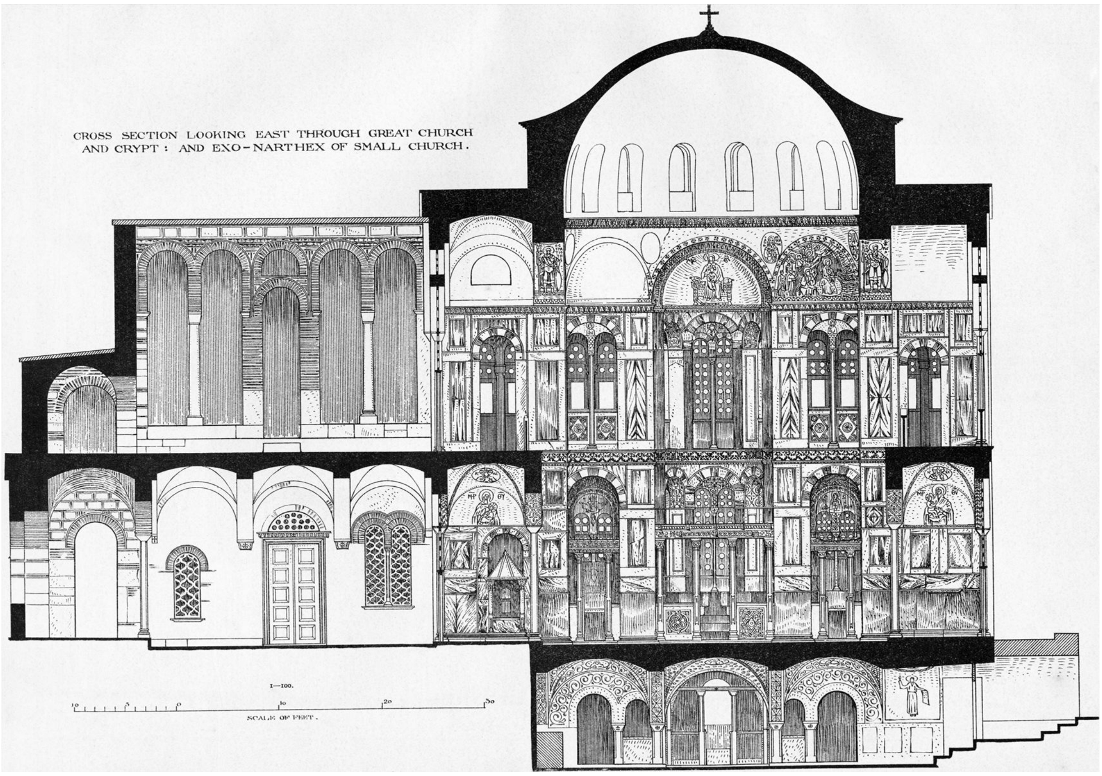


Fig. 1.4. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon. Section drawing. After Schultz and Barnsley, *Monastery of Saint Luke*, pl. 5.

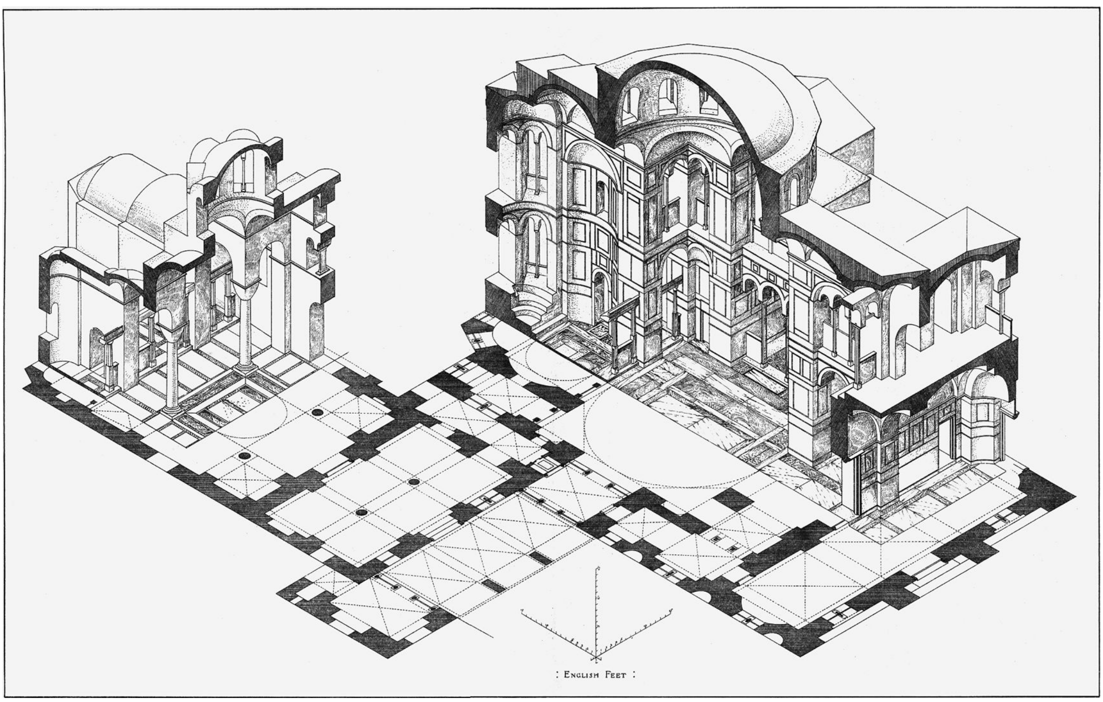


Fig. 1.5. Hosios Loukas. Isometric view of the Katholikon and Theotokos Church. After Schultz and Barnsley, *Monastery of Saint Luke*, pl. 4.

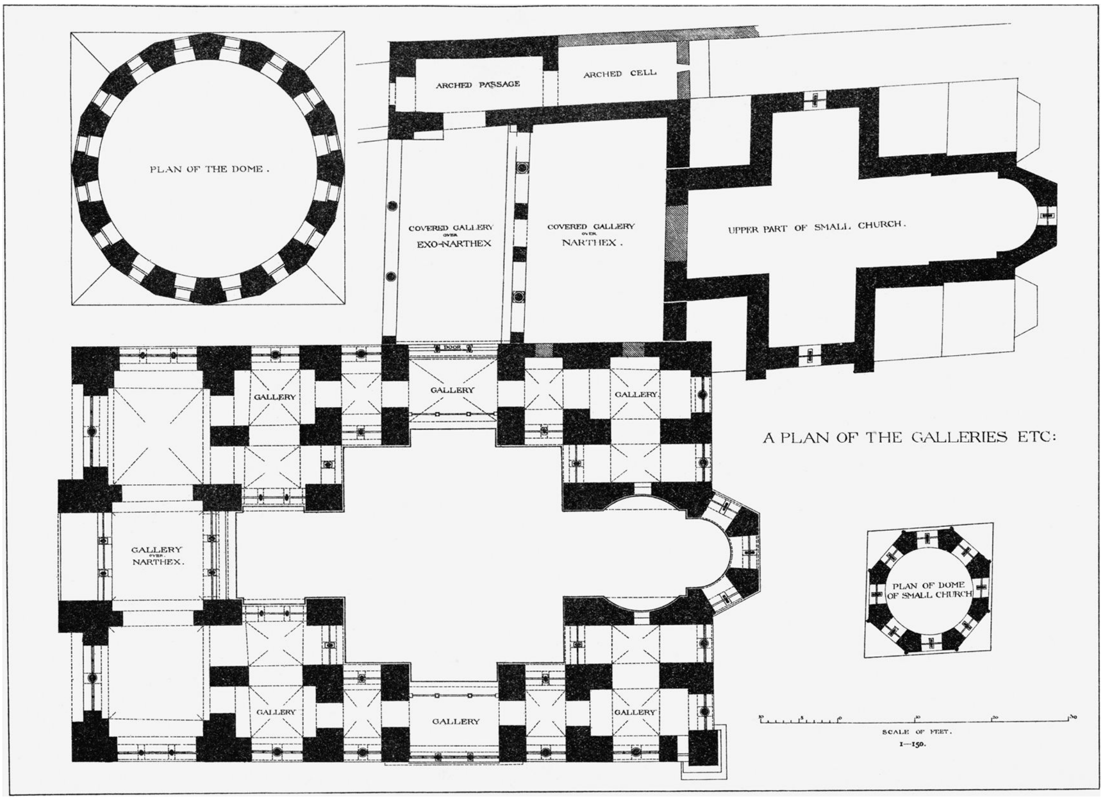


Fig. 1.6. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon. Plan of gallery level. After Schultz and Barnsley, *Monastery of Saint Luke*, pl. 2).

The crypt resembles a small church, with sanctuary, central bay, and surrounding devotional spaces all vaulted by a system of ten groin vaults supported on six piers (see figs. 1.4, 1.7, and 1.25).[9] The ground plan of the crypt approximates that of a cross-in-square church, of which the Theotokos Church is a prime example. The Theotokos interlocks architecturally with the Katholikon at the northeast chapel of the Katholikon where the shrine of Saint Luke of Steiris is situated (see fig. 1.3).

The Theotokos Church, or Panaghia (Church of the Virgin Mary), is capped by a small hemispherical dome on a tall drum.[10] In contrast to the Katholikon, it is slender and delicate in its proportions and exterior sculptural decoration. This church has only one story. The dome over the central space is supported on four tall monolithic columns (figs. 1.3 and 1.8). The cross-in-square design is formed by the four barrel vaults converging on the central space, the square being completed by the four groin-vaulted corner bays. Three apsed bays on the east end define the sanctuary and pastophories (prothesis and diaconicon), and a double narthex in the west completes the design, a type characteristic of monastic churches built after Iconoclasm.

Both the Katholikon and Theotokos Church are inscribed-cross-shaped, domed churches with sanctuaries and entrance porches.[11] Their fenestration is designed to provide direct and indirect natural lighting from

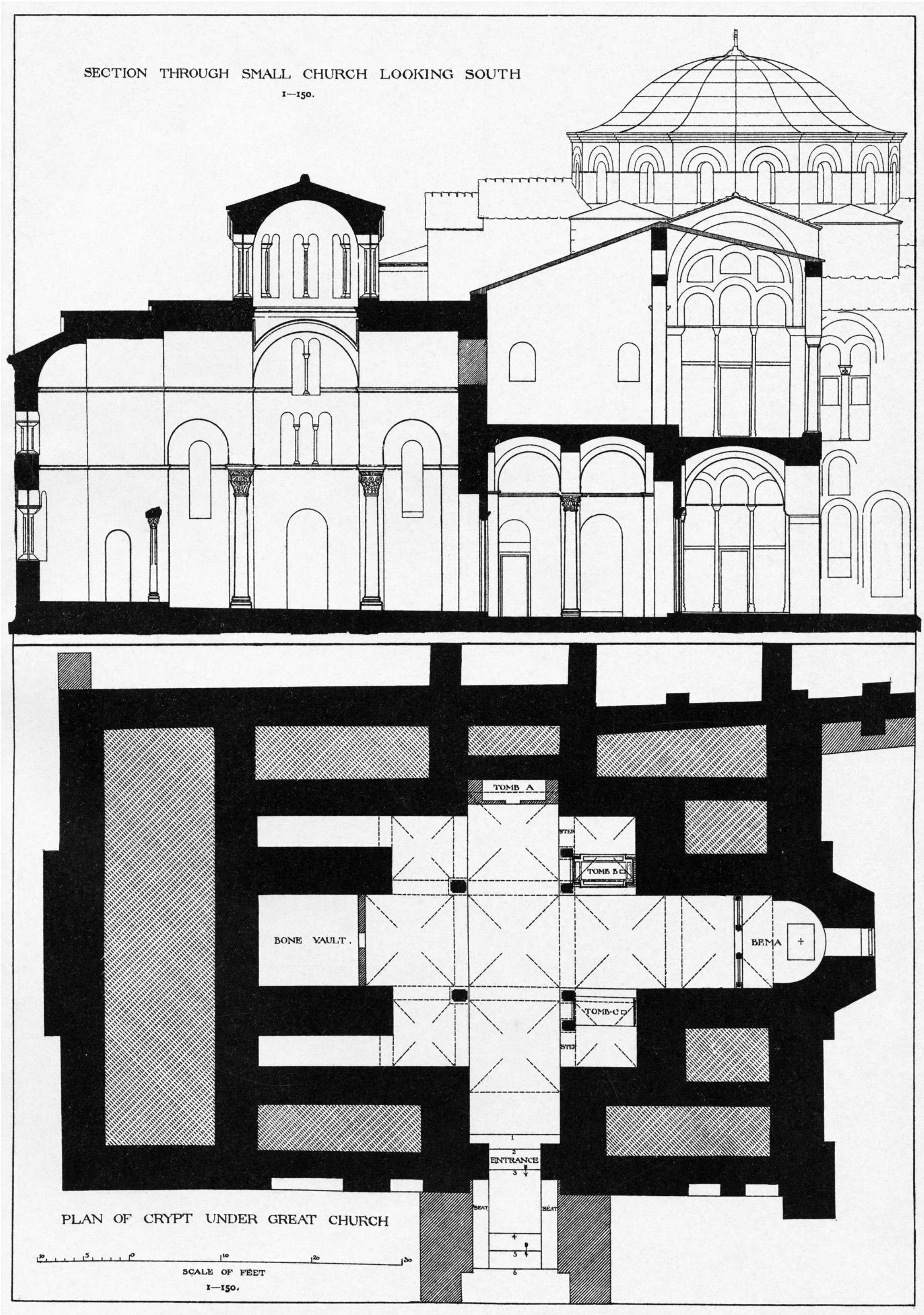


Fig. 1.7. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon. Section of churches and Plan of crypt. After Schultz and Barnsley, *Monastery of Saint Luke*, pl. 3.



Fig. 1.8. Hosios Loukas, Theotokos Church. Interior, view of sanctuary, facing east. Photo by author.

windows around the bases of the domes and from clerestories in the cross arms and the narthex; indirect lighting filters into the naos from the heavily mullioned windows of the outer shell. The domed-octagon design of the Katholikon may be seen as a larger and more complex derivative of the cross-in-square type of the Theotokos Church. The earliest cross-in-square churches known are ninth- and tenth-century examples surviving in Constantinople and nearby.[12]

The cross-in-square and domed-octagon church designs provide numerous surfaces for mural decoration in both mosaics and frescoes, which survive in both the Katholikon and its crypt. The Theotokos Church lacks mural decoration for the most part, which, in this case, appears to have been the original intent.[13] The articulation of

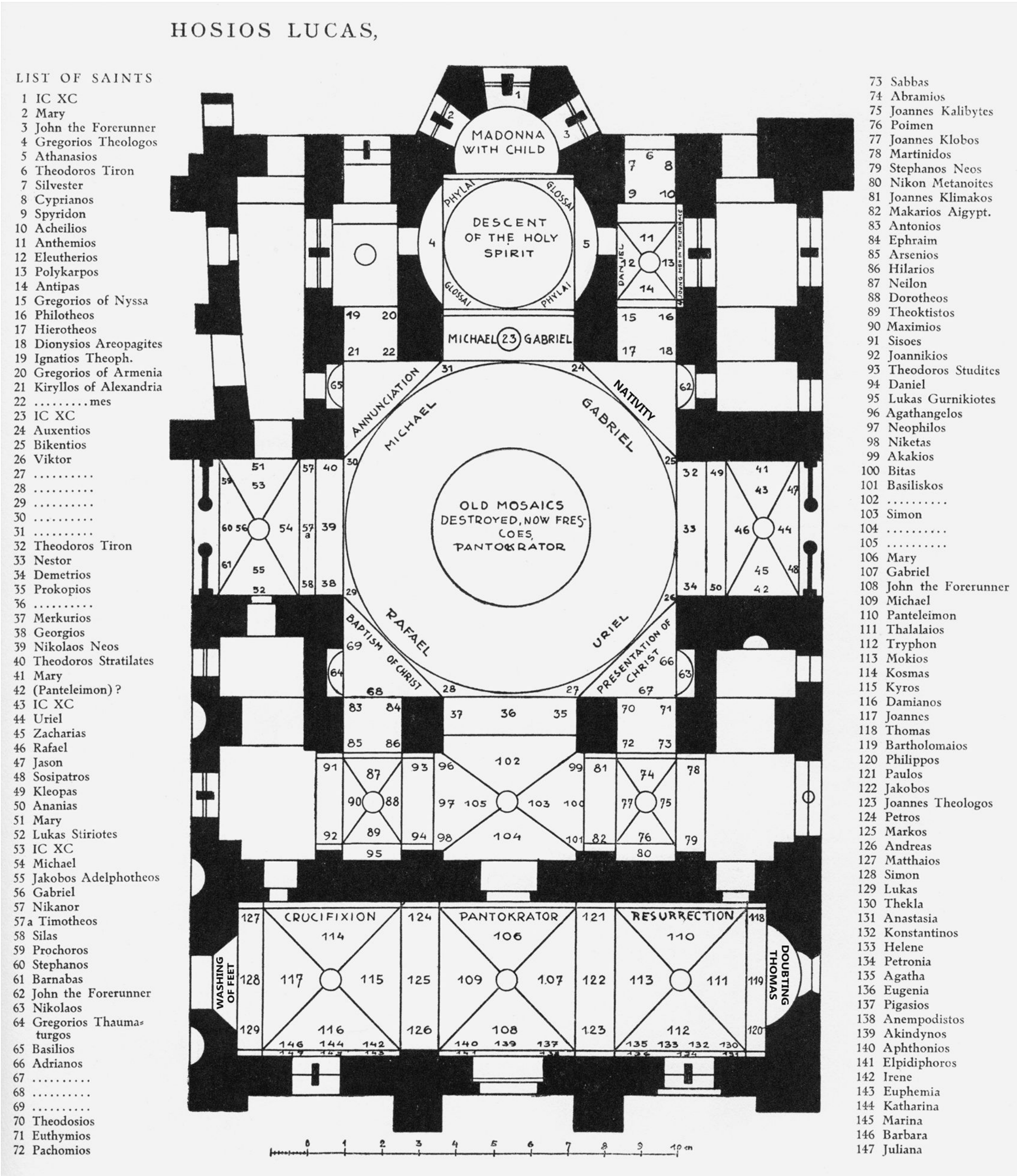


Fig. 1.9. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon. Iconographic plan. After Diez and Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece*, 119.

domes, walls, and vaults of the Katholikon makes it ideally suited for the application of a pictorial scheme with maximum impact on the viewer.

The mosaics in the Katholikon of Hosios Loukas are placed throughout the church above the marble revetments and ornate sculptural bands of the walls. The iconographic program is arranged in a hierarchy according to which the highest mosaics represent features associated with heaven or the most sacred personages and those lower down



Fig. 1.10. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon. View of main dome, showing fresco replacements of original mosaics. Photo by author.

relate to more earthly, even contemporary, events and personages (see fig. 1.9).[14] The dome or focal point of the Katholikon had as its original mosaic decoration a Pantokrator, a bust-length image of Christ encircled by a rainbow representing heaven;[15] five angels and an orant Virgin were arranged just below. Between the windows at the base of the dome were sixteen prophets. The dome mosaics were lost in an earthquake in 1593 and were replaced at some later date with frescoes, presumably imitating the original mosaic composition (fig. 1.10).

In the next highest zone of the church, the eastern apse of the sanctuary, the Virgin Mary is seated on a jeweled throne and holds the baby Jesus on her lap (fig. 1.11). This image represents the Virgin's role in Christ's Incarnation. On the curving gold ground on either side is the abbreviated label *Meter Theou*, Mother of God, while around the arch of the apse is the inscription from Psalms 93:5: "Holiness becometh thine house, O Lord, for ever."[16] In the shallow domical vault over the sanctuary is a circular composition of Pentecost, with the prepared throne with dove and Gospel book (*Hetoimaseia*), representing the descent of the Holy Spirit, within a blue roundel in the center of the golden dome. Rays and "tongues of fire" representing the descent of the Holy Spirit radiate outward onto the haloed heads of the twelve white-robed apostles who appear seated around the periphery of the dome. In the four



Fig. 1.11. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon. Apse with Virgin and Child and Pentecost dome, mosaics. Photo by author.

pendentives below the dome are figures representing the Israelite tribes, labeled *Phylai* and *Glossai* (Tribes and Tongues) as described in Acts 2.[17] On the soffits of the high arch before the sanctuary are two full-length archangels, Gabriel and Michael, wearing jeweled imperial *loroi*, or ceremonial robes. On the north and south walls of the sanctuary in apsidal niches are large-scale, half-length portraits of the great patristic fathers Gregory of Nazianzus and Athanasius of Alexandria.

The curved squinches at the four oblique angles of the naos below the main dome contain scenes from Christ's life, starting in the northeast: the Annunciation (now lost), the Nativity with the Shepherds, Magi, and First



Fig. 1.12. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon. Nativity with Shepherds and Magi, mosaic. Art Resource.

Bath of the Infant, the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple, and the Baptism of Christ (figs. 1.12–1.14). In the spandrels above the squinches and in the soffits of the high arches of the north, south, and east cross arms are represented the "holy warriors," martyred soldier-saints, originally seventeen of them.

In the groin vaults above the northern, southern, and western arms of the cross are saints and angels. The lunettes formed by the vaults over the northern and southern cross arms present images of the Virgin and Child Hodegetria, while facing them are juxtaposed healer-saints, Saint Panteleimon on the west wall of the south bay and Saint Luke of Steiris, the homonymous founder of the monastery, on the west wall of the north bay, opposite his shrine (figs. 1.15 and 1.16).[18]

In the lowest zone on the north and south walls of the naos are imposing half-length portraits of four theologians and fathers of the church in individual, apsed lunettes: Basil the Great, John the Baptist, Gregory Thaumaturgos,



Fig. 1.13. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon. Presentation of Christ in the Temple, mosaic. Photo by author.

and Nicholas of Myra. On the remaining walls, vaults, and soffits of arches of the naos appear holy bishops, wonder-workers, sainted monks, doctors of the church, and martyrs. These are densely arranged, and occupy all curved or vertical wall surfaces (fig. 1.17). In places of special prominence, in the arched lunettes of the western bays of the naos, opposite the prothesis and diaconicon, are Saint Nikon of Sparta and Loukas Gurniokiotes, who had special local and contemporary significance (fig. 1.18).[19]

In the narthex, a huge, bust-length portrait of Christ Blessing is the dominant image, which appears in a lunette above the Royal Door leading into the church proper (fig. 1.19). He gazes down at the viewer and holds an inscribed book that reads: "I am the light of the world; he who follows me will not walk in darkness, but will have the light of life." (*John* 8.12).[20] In the groin vault before this image are Mary and John the Baptist, forming a group representing the Deesis, or prayer of intercession, in conjunction with the Christ Blessing. Angels appear in the other two segments of the vault. Four iconic figural compositions comprise an abbreviated Passion cycle, seen in lunettes and apses around the narthex, starting on the north wall: Christ Washing the Apostles' Feet (fig. 1.20), the Crucifixion (fig. 1.21), Resurrection or Anastasis (fig. 1.22), and Incredulity of Thomas.



Fig. 1.14. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon. Baptism of Christ, mosaic. Photo by author.



Fig. 1.15. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon. Saint Panteleimon, mosaic. Photo by author.



Fig. 1.16. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon, Saint Luke of Steiris, mosaic. Photo by author.



Fig. 1.17. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon, groin vault with bishops and martyrs, mosaic. Photo by author.



Fig. 1.18. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon. Loukas Gurniokiotes and monastic saints, mosaic. Photo by author.

In the soffits of the arches defining the three bays of the narthex, the twelve apostles appear, in attitudes of conversation among themselves and the viewer (fig. 1.23). In the vaults of the north and south bays are healer saints, and on the west wall of the narthex are arranged twelve holy women, ranging from Saint Helena, who appears with her son the Emperor Constantine I, holding the True Cross between them, to female martyrs and sainted empresses (fig. 1.24).[21] In the central bay above the entrance door the Five Martyrs of Persia appear, clad in exotic attire.

In addition to these mosaics, frescoes are found in the side chapels on the northwest and southwest angles of the naos, and in the



Fig. 1.19. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon. Christ Blessing, narthex, mosaic over Royal Door. Photo by author.

crypt, greatly expanding the repertoire of saints' images and scenes. These frescoes constitute separate iconographic programs. Those of the northwest chapel reflect a burial cult because of their iconography relating to funerary practices.[22] Three narrative scenes, the Transfiguration, Ascent of Elijah, and Crucifixion, are set among portraits of saints. The southwest chapel, on the other hand, functions as a baptismal chapel, as revealed by its particular iconography relating to the liturgy of the blessing of the water used for baptism. Here again saints appear on all vaults and walls.[23] In these frescoed chapels, figures appear against dark blue backgrounds. They are close enough to the viewer to be touched, and their very accessibility underscores the intimacy of these spaces.

The crypt below the Katholikon has a self-contained program of images in fresco. This extended cycle of scenes and portraits of saints relates directly to monastic liturgies and burials. The crypt includes a sanctuary with altar and templon barrier, and three large tombs, including the tomb of Saint Luke of Steiris.[24] A series of scenes in lunettes around the walls relates to the Passion, starting with the north wall of the northeast bay: the Entry into Jerusalem, Crucifixion, Last Supper, Deposition from the Cross, Burial, and Resurrection. The series



Fig. 1.20. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon. Christ Washing the Apostles' Feet, narthex mosaic. Photo by author.

terminates with the Incredulity of Thomas, and is extended to the Koimesis, or Death of the Virgin Mary. All nine groin vaults are decorated with roundel portraits of warrior martyrs, holy men, and apostles, surrounded by stars, vine scrolls, and aureoles of light, as in a mystical night sky (fig. 1.25). In the apse of the sanctuary are traces of a Deesis composition. Both narrative scenes and individual portraits sometimes duplicate those found in the mosaics of the church above, and are also close enough in style to the mosaics to suggest they are contemporary, although some show signs of later repainting at an unknown date.

The exceptionally well-preserved program of mosaics and frescoes at Hosios Loukas represents the most complex and extensive ensemble of monumental imagery of the Middle Byzantine era. While there are sixteen Christological or feast scenes in the mosaics and frescoes, it is clear that the 182 portraits are the predominant feature of the programs of the Katholikon, including naos, bema, narthex, lateral chapels, and crypt (see Appendix I for a tabulation of the individual portraits of saints at Hosios Loukas). Of the individual portraits, over one-third are monastic, reflecting the monastic setting. The proliferation of saints' portraits indicates a preoccupation with saints and their cults, and suggests the existence of a very broad artistic repertoire from which choices were made.[25] The attention and expenditure lavished on the church buildings and their decoration also suggest ties to the highest caliber patronage, likely an emperor. While Hosios Loukas cannot be associated with certainty

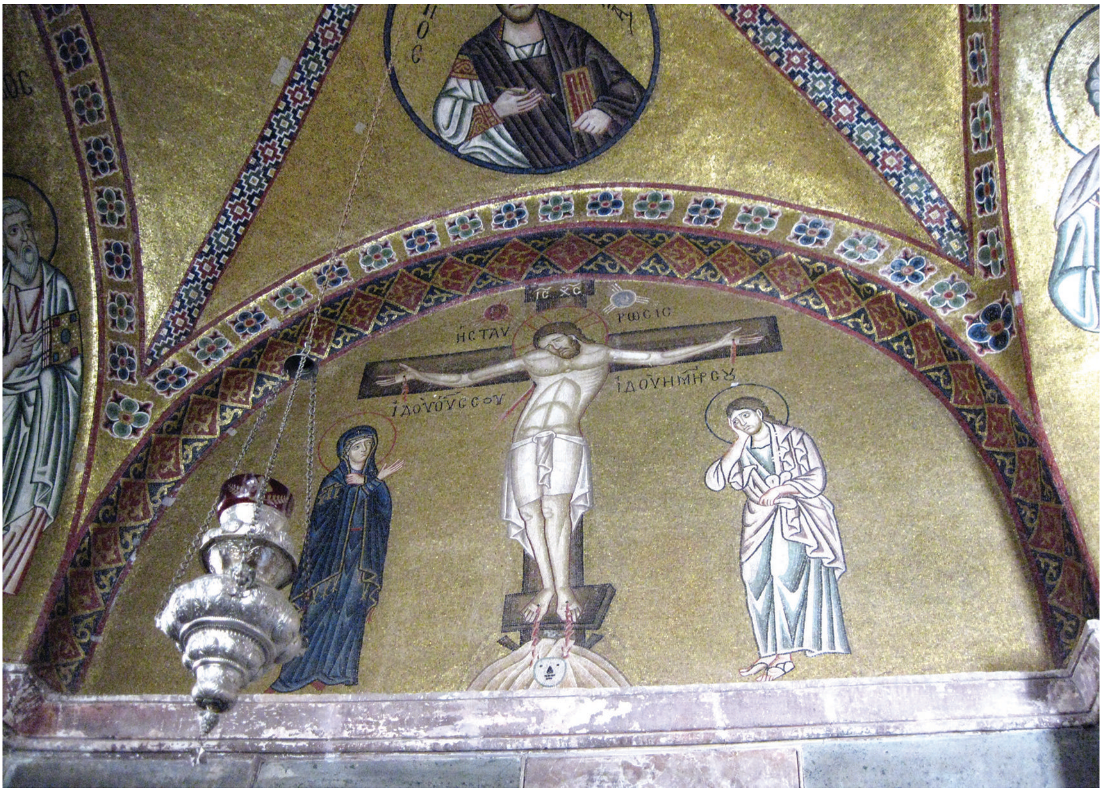


Fig. 1.21. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon. Crucifixion, narthex mosaic. Photo by author.

with a specific emperor or a mosaic workshop from Constantinople, this is not the case with the mosaic ensemble at Nea Moni on Chios.

The monastery of Nea Moni on Chios is an imperial foundation of Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055). The Katholikon of the monastery is smaller than that at Hosios Loukas and is a variant of the octagon-domed design.[26] All but destroyed by the earthquake of 1881, it has been rebuilt and restored. While the dome is supported on eight piers, as in the Katholikon at Hosios Loukas, there is no gallery level and no cross arms or subsidiary chapels surrounding the central core (fig. 1.26). Nea Moni therefore at first appears less complex in plan and elevation, with fewer discrete spaces and a more centralized focus on the space under the dome. The large hemispherical dome on a high drum is equal again in height to the naos, in contrast to Hosios Loukas with its two-story elevation and broad dome without a drum.[27] The mural articulation of the interior is undulating and complex, with engaged piers, marble revetment and exterior window openings on the first two levels, and a series of eight conches around the third. A zone of eight pendentives makes the transition between the conches and the tall drum of the dome.[28] The bema is flanked by two apsed pastophoria, all three being of nearly equal size. The narthex has a domed central bay flanked by two lateral barrel-vaulted bays. An exonarthex on the west end of the



Fig. 1.22. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon. Anastasis, narthex mosaic. Photo by author.

church, with small domes over each of its three bays and deeply apsed bays at the two ends, dates to a later period.[29]

The mosaics of the naos of Nea Moni cover, or rather once covered, all available surfaces above the marble revetments. The Pantokrator and mosaics of the drum of the dome were lost in the 1881 earthquake, and the eight apsed niches and conches around the naos severely damaged. Fires had previously destroyed other mosaics of the naos.[30] In the pendentives between the drum of the dome and the apsed niches, remnants of the original mosaic decoration with seraphim, cherubim, apostles, and writing evangelists survive. Most notably, the mosaics in the four deeply recessed conches and four niches in the thickness of the walls comprise a series of eight scenes from Christ's life, Passion, and Resurrection. These curving surfaces surround the central space of the naos in an almost continuous progression, starting with the northeast squinch: Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation in the Temple, Baptism, Transfiguration, Crucifixion, Descent from the Cross, and Anastasis (fig. 1.27).[31] The mosaics of the bema are partially preserved: an orant Virgin appears in the main apse, and archangels Michael and Gabriel in the apses of prothesis and diaconicon, respectively. Due to the difference in scale of the two buildings, these figural compositions are closer



Fig. 1.23. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon. View of narthex, facing north, apostles in soffits of arches, mosaics. Photo by author.

to the viewer than the naos scenes are at Hosios Loukas, and therefore have considerably greater legibility as well as immediacy.[32]

In the narthex, eight additional scenes appear along with a series of individual portraits of saints in the dome and soffits of flanking arches. The following scenes are found on the walls: Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, preparatory episodes for the Washing of the Feet, Washing of the Feet, Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane, Betrayal, Ascension, and Pentecost. The Virgin appears in a roundel at the apex of the dome, with eight warrior saints in the radiating lobed sections. Nearby vaults carry images of prophets and monastics, including monastic founders, theologians, and stylite saints. The narrative scenes at Nea Moni total sixteen, and individual portraits of saints, fifty (see Appendix I).[33] As at Hosios Loukas, saints make up a large proportion



Fig. 1.24. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon. Female saints, narthex mosaic. Photo by author.

of the overall program. The gold-ground dome of the narthex has eight magnificent full-length warrior saints surrounding a roundel with a bust of the Virgin Mary. This display is only matched by the proliferation of seventeen warrior saints appearing in the mosaics of the soffits of the high arches and pendentives supporting the main dome at Hosios Loukas. The prominence of the warrior saints reveals an implicit military agenda in these two programs. Forming a seemingly conscious blend of features of the churches of Nea Moni and Hosios Loukas, the church of the Koimesis at Daphni incorporates architectural elements and iconographic features of both.

At Daphni the architecture is related in many respects to the two earlier examples, but has its own distinctive blend of features characterized by a harmony and simplicity of design. The hemispherical dome is fenestrated at the base and supported by eight piers, as in the two churches just discussed (fig. 1.28). It is a one-story church with a domed-octagon plan encompassing four cross arms and corner chapels. The dome at Daphni, as at Hosios Loukas, has no drum. The three domes range in diameter from 9 m at Hosios Loukas to 6.5 m at Nea Moni and 7.5 m at Daphni. At Daphni, there are four squinches at the corners of the naos, and all secondary vaults are groin vaults, as also at Hosios Loukas. Daphni, like Nea Moni, has no gallery and does not share the complexity of surface articulation, gallery passages, or chapels found at Hosios Loukas. The bema consists of a deep bay with laterally apsed walls before the main

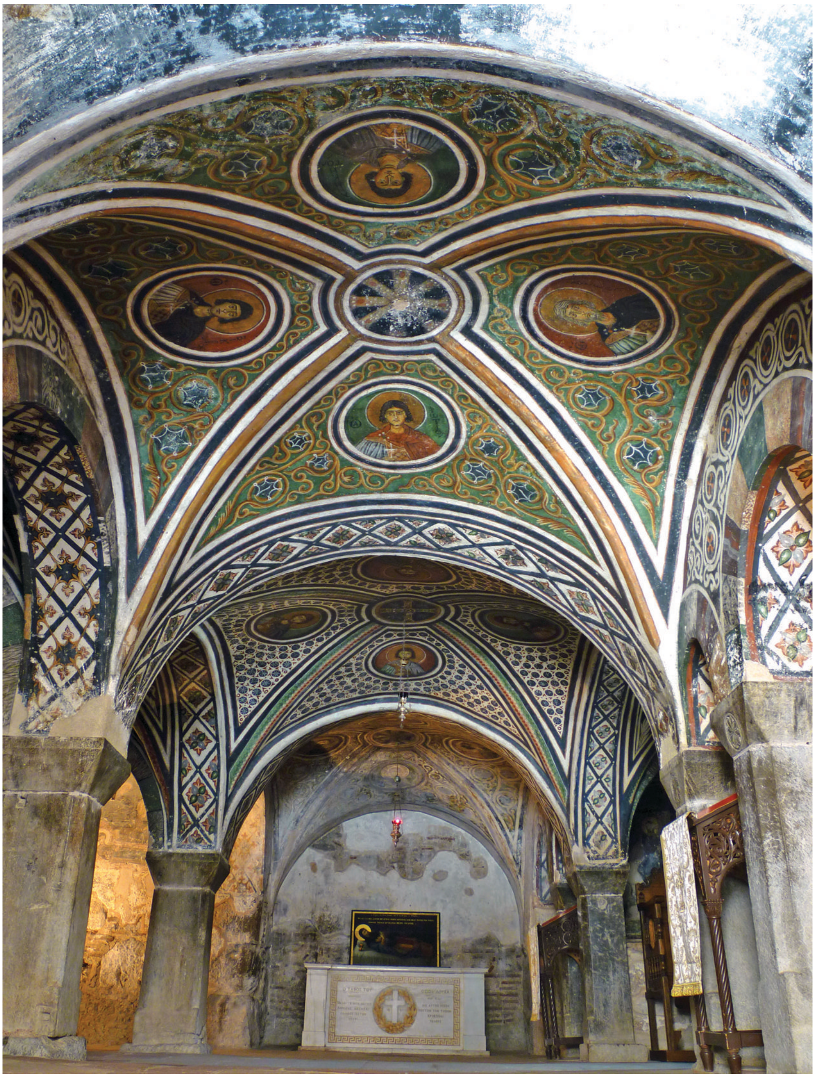


Fig. 1.25. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon, crypt. View of tomb and frescoes, facing north. Photo by author.

apse, and is flanked by two smaller, apsed chambers, the prothesis and diaconicon. A transverse hall to the west of the naos forms a three-bay narthex, with an exonarthex added at a later date.

A general comparison of the three ground plans shows that Daphni more closely resembles Hosios Loukas than it does Nea Moni in the use of subsidiary spaces and the structural system of support around the central core of the church. The proportions of its overall ground plan are common to the three, as all have a nearly square, domed central naos, with the standard bema to the east and narthex in the west. In elevation, however, Daphni has two cornices rather than three, as at Hosios Loukas and Nea Moni. It once shared Hosios Loukas's interior marble revetment of broad, polychrome plaques, but now all of its revetments have been lost. Daphni has taller, narrower interior proportions than

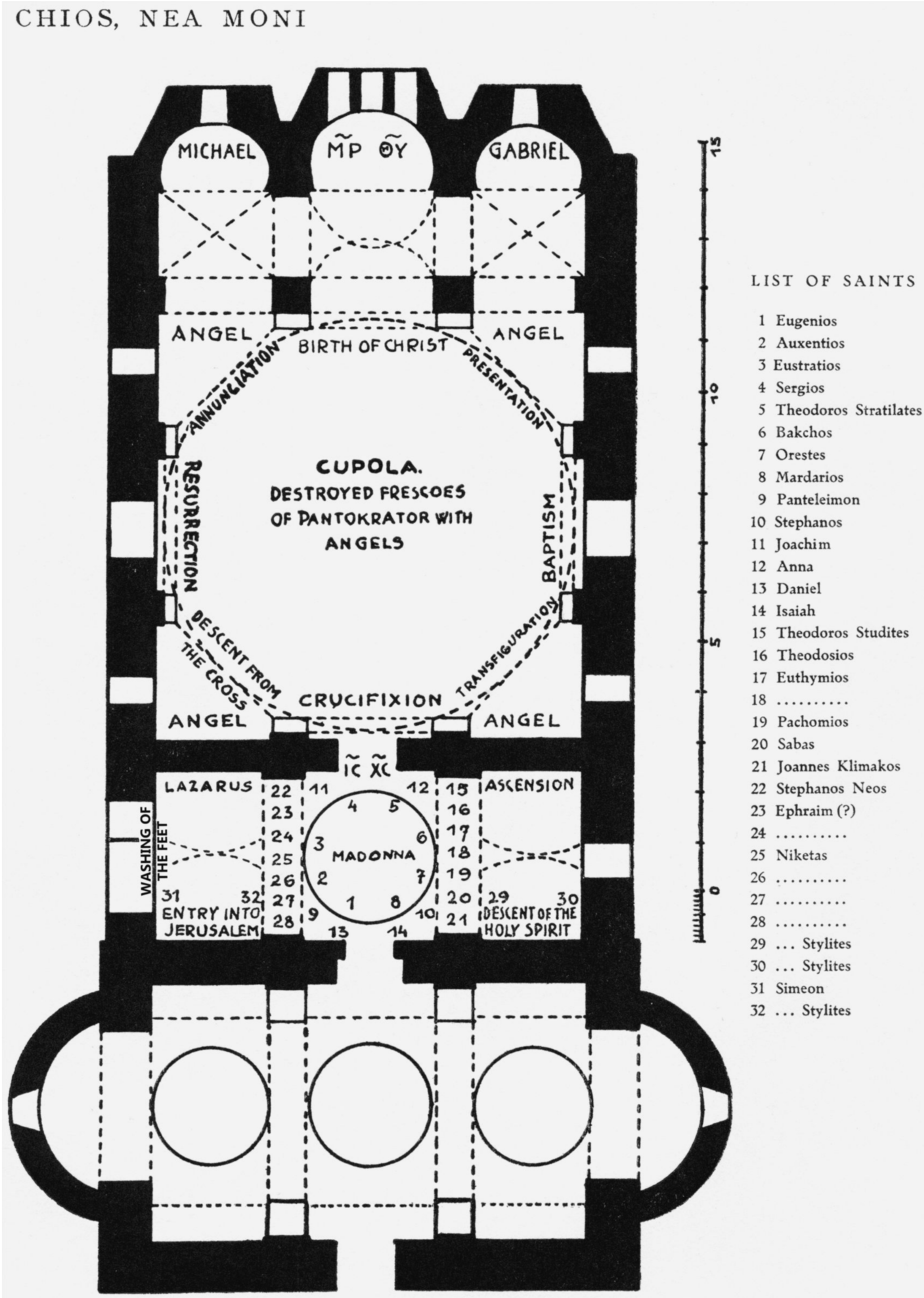


Fig. 1.26. Nea Moni, monastery church. Iconographic ground plan. After Diez and Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece*, 123.



Fig. 1.27. Nea Moni, monastery church. Interior view facing northwest. ©Vanni Archive/Art Resource.

Nea Moni. All three churches are dominated by domes above the central space, but of the three, Nea Moni, although the smallest structure, has the most prominent dome in relation to the rest of the building. The eight narrative images at Nea Moni are thus more legible, more dominated by the gold ground, and more powerful in their impact than at the other two churches.[34] The strong family resemblance among them is nonetheless evident in terms of plan, elevation, interior design, coloristic use of marble, and overall surface treatment, especially regarding mosaic images and ornament.

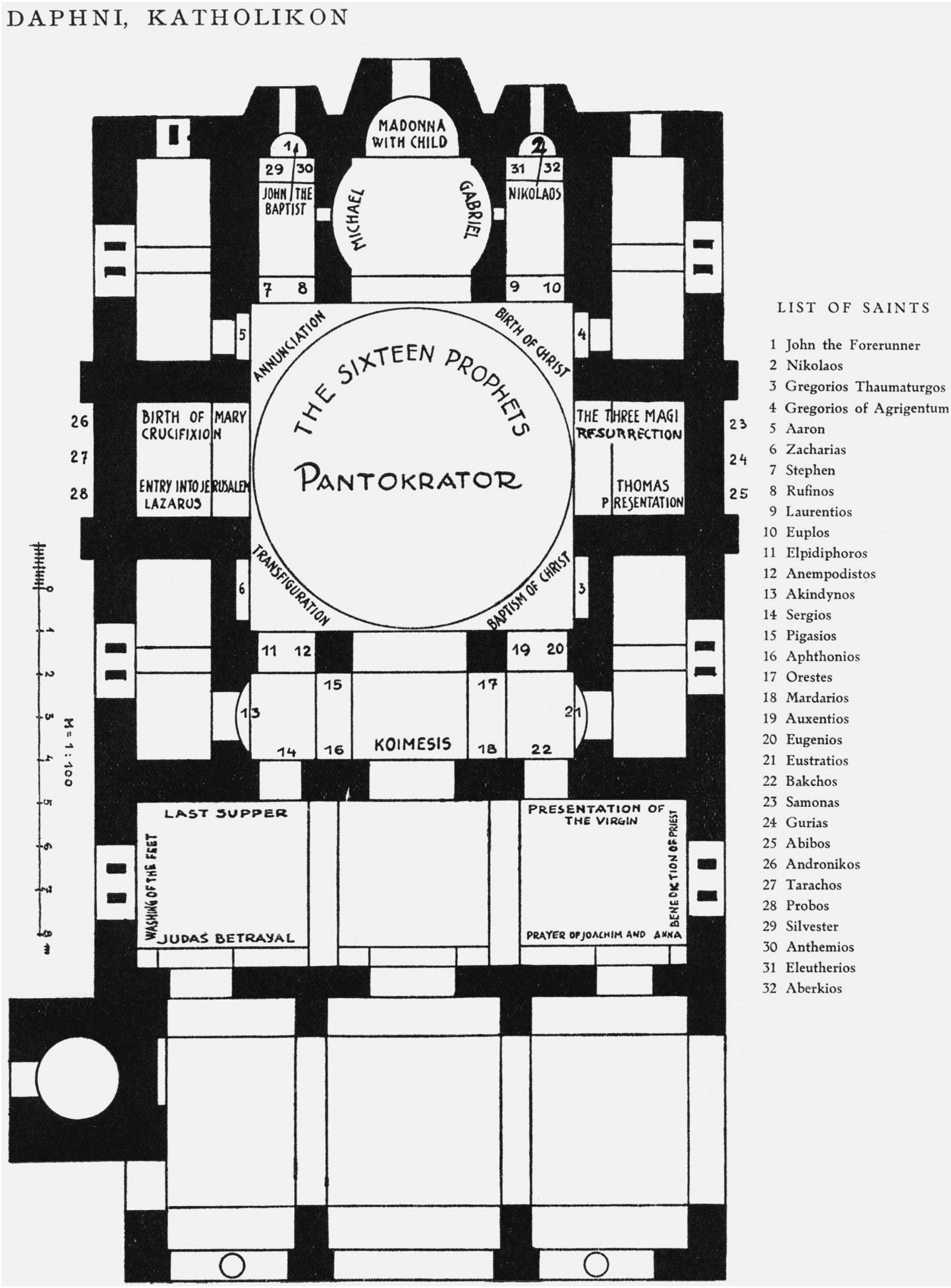


Fig. 1.28. Daphni, monastery church. Iconographic ground plan. After Diez and Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece*, 121.



Fig. 1.29. Daphni, monastery church. Pantokrator, dome mosaic. Photo by author.

The exceptional preservation of the mosaic image in the dome at Daphni makes this one of the great landmarks of Byzantine art. Whatever changes occurred in the course of restoration, the Pantokrator that we see today is essentially what was originally executed with minor alterations, including a slightly more severe expression, as shown by Henry Maguire in a comparison with a prerestoration photo.[35] A huge Christ Pantokrator gazes down out of the encircling rainbow of heaven (fig. 1.29). Sixteen prophets stand between the windows around the base of the dome. In the apse is a badly damaged enthroned Virgin and Child. In the arch over the apse was an inscription taken from the minor

prophet Haggai: "The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the Lord of hosts" (Haggai 2.9).[36] In the apsed lunettes on the sidewalls of the sanctuary, the archangels Michael and Gabriel appear splendidly, standing full length and wearing imperial costume.

The squinches of the naos contain four familiar narrative scenes of Christ's life, starting in the northeast: Annunciation (fig. 1.30), Birth of Christ, Baptism, and Transfiguration. The cycle continues in the arms of the cross, with eight more scenes in arched lunettes on the sidewalls: the Birth of the Virgin, Visit of the Three Magi, Presentation in the Temple, Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Incredulity of Thomas. The Koimesis, or Dormition of the Virgin appears above the Royal Door. Four imposing half-length portraits of priestly saints occupy slightly apsed lunettes on north and south walls of the naos. Warrior martyrs, priests, and deacons appear on intrados of arches. In the narthex are six additional scenes. To the north is an abbreviated Passion sequence: Last Supper, Washing of the Feet, and Judas's Betrayal, and to the south, a short cycle of the Life of the Virgin: Prayers of Joachim and Anna, Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, and Benediction of the Priests. In all, there are eighteen scenes and fifty-one individual saints among the preserved mosaics (see Appendix I).

Because of the losses in all three churches, especially of individual saints' portraits, it is not possible to draw definitive conclusions based

Fig. 1.30. Daphni, monastery church. Interior view to northeast, Annunciation, mosaic. Photo by author.



on numerical evidence. However, some convergences are noteworthy. Among the few figures whose portraits appear at all three churches, other than Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary, are the five martyrs of Sebaste (Eustratius, Auxentius, Eugenius, Mardarius, and Orestes), Stephan Protomartyr, and the archangels Michael and Gabriel. The sixteen prophets are preserved around the base of the dome at Daphni; it is assumed that they also appeared in the same location at Hosios Loukas. At Nea Moni the major prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel appear on the west wall of the narthex. The Twelve Apostles appear at Hosios Loukas and Nea Moni, but none are represented (or, rather, preserved) at Daphni. The Five Persian Martyrs are found at Hosios Loukas, twice, and at Daphni, but not at Nea Moni. Four Stylites are found at Nea Moni: Symeon the Younger, Alypius, Daniel and Symeon the Elder, whereas none of these appear either at Hosios Loukas or at Daphni.

There is a more general convergence among the three churches of portrait images in certain categories, such as bishops, church fathers, warrior martyrs, and monastics. Holy warriors assume a prominent role in the programs of all three churches. More than one half of the individual saints in the program at Nea Moni appear at Hosios Loukas, whereas only one-quarter of the saints at Daphni appear at Hosios Loukas. The sheer abundance of individual portraits of sainted individuals—such a great number that there is only partial overlap among the three churches—suggests a very large pool from which they were selected. At Hosios Loukas, more than one-third of the individual portraits are of monastic saints, appropriate in view of its monastic founder. The synaxaries or menologia compiled in the tenth century have been associated with the wide repertoire of saints popular at the time.

As for the narthex scenes, there are many convergences among the three churches, for most belong to the standard series of twelve feasts, or Dodekaorton. This series is seen in multiple variations in most Middle Byzantine churches, depending on the dedication or primary association of the church.[37] A series that can be seen as a cycle of the Life of the Virgin appears, appropriately, in the narthex at Daphni, given the church's dedication. In all three of the Greek churches there is a Washing of the Feet at the north end of the narthex, indicating a specific liturgical use of this space for ritual foot washing on Maundy Thursday, as shown by William Tronzo.[38]

From the iconographic evidence of the portraits of saints in the three churches, it is clear that they have a pervasive presence and pronounced impact on the overall church program. The aesthetic brilliance and ornamental character of the setting in all three cases further link the three mosaic programs to one another. Not only are clothing, armor, and furniture highly ornate and colorful, but parallel bands of a variety of decorative motifs are also found bordering all segments of the figural decoration throughout the churches. The rich ornamental motifs are comparable to those used in headpieces in Byzantine manuscripts,

in textiles, or on enamels, as seen for example at Hosios Loukas (figs. 1.31a, 1.31b, and 1.23). Pseudo-Kufic motifs also appear on clothing, furniture, and armor, as well as on painted decoration and exterior brickwork at Hosios Loukas; such designs also appear on armor of the warrior saints at Nea Moni.[39]

Other examples of churches decorated in both mosaic and the related medium of fresco further contribute to an understanding of the breadth of the repertoire of subjects included in the Middle Byzantine program. The Panaghia ton Chalkeon, a small, elegantly built cross-in-square church in Thessaloniki, has a decorative program of frescoes with funerary connotations. It was built to contain the tomb of a high court official and is securely dated by an inscription to 1028. The program forms a close parallel to that of the crypt at Hosios Loukas, with narrative scenes such as the Crucifixion, Entry into Jerusalem, and Last Supper included in the frescoes of the naos and narthex.[40] The Ascension rather than a Pantokrator occupies the main dome, which is understandable given the funerary context of the building. A Last Judgment, unusual in Byzantine art, appears on the east wall of the narthex.[41]

(a)



Fig. 1.31a. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon. Ornament in mosaics. Photo by author.

(b)



Fig. 1.31b. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon. Ornament in mosaics. Photo by author.

The massive, golden-domed cathedral of Hagia Sophia in Kiev (1037–1046), capital of the medieval state of Rus and present capital of Ukraine, provides additional evidence. Purportedly modeled on a church in Constantinople, it was sponsored by the Byzantine emperor Constantine IX, who had it embellished by mosaicists who traveled with their materials from Constantinople.[42] This large foundation is an extended version of a cross-in-square design in which its thirteen domes, five aisles, and five apses proliferate beyond any known Byzantine example.[43] The cathedral was clearly intended to house the entire population of the city. The main dome, which measures 7.5 m in diameter, depicts in the mosaic of its main dome the Pantokrator in a rainbow medallion surrounded by angels. This image is comparable to those originally found in the main domes all three of the Greek churches. In the apse a monumental, 6 m tall orant Virgin appears against a gold ground; a wide

register in mosaics on the wall of the sanctuary shows the Communion of the Twelve Apostles.[44] An orant Virgin in mosaic appears in the apse at Nea Moni.[45] While the Communion of the Apostles does not appear in any of the three Greek churches, it does appear in the cathedral church of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid in what is now Macedonia, of the second quarter of the eleventh century.[46] The Communion of the Apostles must have been part of the eleventh-century repertoire of subjects appropriate for the sanctuaries of Byzantine churches.

The rest of the mural decoration at Kiev is a combination of mosaics and frescoes, with the more important locations being reserved for mosaics. Placements of scenes and saints' portraits follow patterns encountered in the Greek churches mentioned above, with Writing Evangelists in pendentives below the dome, as at Nea Moni, and narrative scenes and portraits of saints on lower walls. Kiev's Hagia Sophia is considered to have been modeled on the same church in Constantinople as Nea Moni because of similarities in their programs, probably the Church of Saint George of Mangana. A recent study proposes that the orant Virgin in the apse may be based on the apse of the now-lost Church of the Theotokos of Blachernai in Constantinople.[47]

The church of Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki, probably built in the seventh century, was refurbished with mosaics in the years immediately after the end of Iconoclasm and later.[48] In the main dome is a stupendous Ascension of Christ, of ca. 885, the sole surviving example of this subject in mosaic on a grand scale (fig. 1.32). The schematic boldness and graphic clarity of this epiphanic vision has its closest analogies in surviving ninth-century mosaics in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, indicating the likely source of artistic inspiration.[49] At Nea Moni the Ascension appears in an arched lunette on the east wall of the narthex, although in considerably smaller scale.[50] The Nea Moni type, however, has been described as "more archaic" than the Thessaloniki example, according to Mouriki, for Christ sits on a cushioned throne instead of on the arc of heaven.[51] The Ascension also appears in a fresco on the barrel vault of the sanctuary in the cathedral of Hagia Sophia at Ohrid, and is presumed to be based on the dome mosaic of Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki.[52] Thus, it appears that there was at least one other type of dome decoration in use for the principal dome of a church before the Pantokrator became standard.

The conch of the apse of Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki has a well-preserved mosaic of the enthroned Virgin and Child. This image, which has been dated to sometime in the eleventh century on the basis of style, replaces an earlier mosaic of a monumental cross, traces of which can be seen in the gold ground.[53] In an arc over the apse is an inscription from Psalms 65:5–6: "We shall be satisfied with the goodness of thy house; holy is thy temple, wonderful in righteousness."[54] The seated Virgin and Child also appears in the apses of Hosios Loukas and Daphni; these all apparently derive from the earliest known example of

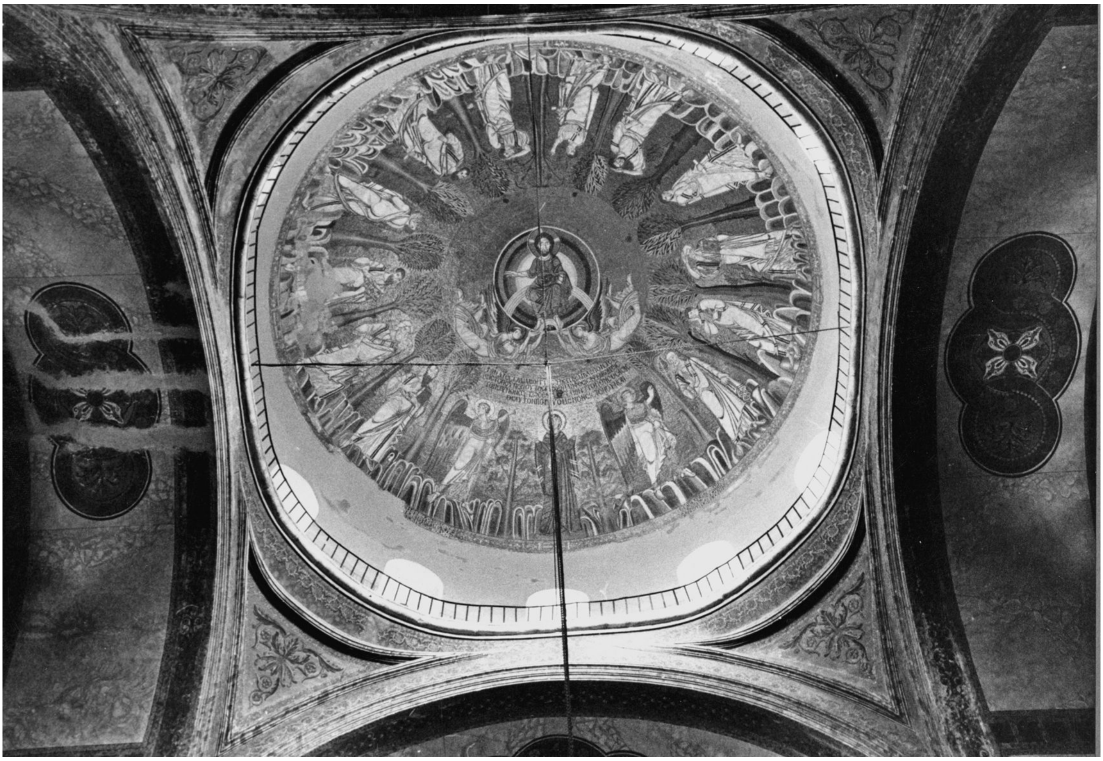


Fig. 1.32. Thessaloniki, Hagia Sophia. Ascension of Christ, dome mosaic. Courtesy Beat Brenk, Byzantine Institute, Inc. Collection: Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, DC.

the type, in the apse of the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, dating to 867 (fig. 2.4).[55]

A third apse composition, in addition to the seated Virgin and Child and the orant Virgin, is the standing Virgin and Child, which could once be seen at the Church of the Dormition in Nicaea (Iznik), Turkey, likely built in the late seventh or early eighth century. This mosaic image, dating to shortly after 843, was destroyed along with the rest of the church in 1922. A mosaic of a monumental cross had been placed in the apse during Iconoclasm, which replaced an even earlier standing Virgin and Child of unknown date.[56] Among other recorded mosaics at the church of the Dormition in Nicaea are the four Writing Evangelists, in the pendentives of the dome, which appear similarly at Nea Moni. Their recorded and preserved appearance confirms that writing evangelists, that is, figures shown full length and seated at writing desks, were another feature that figured in the post-iconoclastic repertoire of church decoration.[57]

Instances of shared iconographic elements among the three Greek churches and among other post-iconoclastic foundations demonstrate that we are dealing with an extensive and varied iconographic repertoire that was adopted sometime after Iconoclasm. It has also been claimed that images of ecclesiastical figures, including patriarchs of Constantinople, appeared in church decoration at this time as "a celebration of the

Triumph of Orthodoxy."[58] The Thessaloniki dome with its Ascension and Nicaea apse with its standing Virgin and Child provide evidence of variations in the types of figures of the Virgin seen in apses of churches in the Middle Byzantine period. An additional body of evidence related to post-iconoclastic church programs lies far to the east in Cappadocia, in the Byzantine hinterland of central Asia Minor.

Cappadocia in central Turkey is of great importance in the study of Middle Byzantine church decoration. Its churches represent a development that was ongoing between the end of Iconoclasm in 843 and the period of the Greek churches, approximately 900 to 1000. In Cappadocia, mosaics do not survive, but instead there are paintings in rural cave churches carved out of the living rock. Like the Greek core examples, a group of tenth-century Cappadocian cave churches also share family resemblances, and have long been studied as a regional phenomenon with iconographic links to Constantinople.[59] Frescoes are far more abundant in production and survival rates than mosaics.

Cappadocia represents a unique chapter in the history of church art. Carved into the volcanic cones of soft tuff found over a portion of the Anatolian plateau in the region west of Caesarea are hundreds of caves that were hollowed out and fashioned as churches, as well as other functional living spaces.[60] There were some 220 frescoed churches and chapels tallied by Nicole Thierry in the 1990s, and more are discovered each year. The rupestral tradition here is as old as Christianity itself, and the area was well-known in late antiquity for its learned holy men and bishops, as well as its ascetic lifestyle.[61] In the medieval period, extensive farming estates were established which furnished staples vital for life in the Byzantine capital, fostering the rise of wealthy families, landowning elites, who served as patrons of the arts. Many of the monasteries and their churches were founded by aristocratic and imperial landowners to serve as their burial places. These rupestral spaces survived in a neglected condition, often being used as dovecotes, until they were rediscovered in the late nineteenth century and published, starting with the monumental volumes by Père de Jerphanion.[62] I have selected six churches dating to the tenth century as evidence of an early phase of church decoration that preceded the eleventh-century Greek churches. Quantitative analysis and comparison of the iconographic makeup of these two groups greatly expands our knowledge about Byzantine church decoration after Iconoclasm.

The six Cappadocian churches of the study group are quite localized, with most located within a dozen miles of each other, in an area known for its cave monasteries. The area is near the present day towns of Ürgüp, Üçhisar, and Zelve, and in the hills around Göreme Valley, now a Turkish national historic site. The frescoes of this region preserve a broad repertoire of painted narrative scenes and portraits of saints of great boldness of style and liveliness of color. While they bear some iconographic similarities to pre-iconoclastic images on the one hand,[63]



Fig. 1.33. Cappadocia, Kılıçlar. Interior with damaged frescoes. After M. Restle, *Byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien*, II:251.

and share some features found in the Greek churches on the other, they maintain a distinct regional character.

The churches under consideration are Kılıçlar Kilise (Göreme Chapel 29), of ca. 900 to 950; Ayvalı Kilise (Saint John of Gülü Dere, Chapel 4), of 913–920; Tokalı Kilise (Old Church), of ca. 900–910; Tokalı Kilise (New Church), of ca. 950–960; Çavuşin, of 965–969, the only firmly dated church of the group; and finally El Nazar, of ca. 990. Due to the difficulties of dating, the group will be considered as a cross section of the diverse plans, decorative programs, and styles found in tenth-century Cappadocia.[64] The style of painting at Kılıçlar and at Old Tokalı has been associated with manuscripts produced around 900 CE in Constantinople; Çavuşin and Tokalı New Church also show strong stylistic ties with the capital, as noted by scholars.[65]

The six churches represent different types of plans. At Ayvalı and Çavuşin the plans are basilical with barrel-vaulted naves. There is a single large apse at Ayvalı, and three apses at Çavuşin. At Old Tokalı, a barrel-vaulted nave survives from the first church on the site; appended to it is New Tokalı, a later extension, with a transverse barrel-vaulted nave with three large apses communicating with the nave via a transverse corridor. El Nazar has a Greek-cross-shaped plan, with the east cross arm serving as the main apse and flanked by two side apses. At Kılıçlar, a cross-in-square plan, as in a built church, is achieved by carving out four freestanding columns that "support" the "dome" (fig. 1.33).

This mixture of plans borrows from the long tradition of rupestral churches in the region as well as from built-church designs.[66]

The programs of frescoes are as eclectic as the church designs, and include familiar narrative scenes, usually in a horizontal or strip format, but also in lunette shapes and appearing as framed panels. Large main apses are the focal point of all of the churches, and these often contain representations of Christ in Glory, with Christ seated on a jeweled, lyre-backed throne and surrounded by the Evangelist symbols, as in the case of Çavuşin, Kılıçlar, and Ayvalı. At New Tokalı the Crucifixion is depicted in the central apse, and at El Nazar, it is the enthroned Virgin and Child that appears in the main apse. The customary representation in the center of the nave vault or in the carved-out dome is the Ascension; at Ayvalı the Ascension appears in the main dome, and has been aptly compared with the mosaic in the dome of Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki of 885, mentioned above. The Benediction/Mission of the Apostles is a prominent secondary theme in the barrel vaults of many churches. Portraits of saints appear as roundels, busts, and full-length figures in vaults and arches and around the walls. Saints appear in groupings by categories, with favored or local saints assuming places of importance and appearing in larger scale, as here at Çavuşin (fig. 1.34).

Helena and Constantine are the most frequently encountered saints in Cappadocia and are customarily located near the church doors.[67] Warrior saints are also extremely popular and prominently located. Saints' portraits proliferate disproportionately in these small churches; there are 193 different saints depicted in these six churches, with the largest category by far being male martyrs, in particular military saints, or holy warriors. These are followed by bishops and patriarchs, and then prophets. Female martyrs, monks and holy men, apostles, and archangels are also represented (see Appendix II).

The density of saints' portraits in these small churches is noteworthy: Kılıçlar Kilise, 61; Ayvalı Kilise, 56; Old Tokalı, 23; New Tokalı, 85, of which 31 are from among the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste; Çavuşin, 16; El Nazar, 27. Overall, it appears that representing the saints was given as high a priority in the planning of these programs as the depiction of narrative scenes. Although varying in style, these frescoes share a pronounced tendency toward richness of ornament. The paintings are



Fig. 1.34. Cappadocia, Çavuşin. Interior view with frescoes, facing east. After M. Restle, *Byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien*, III:303.

of an ornate and decorative character, with colorful abstract motifs and dots representing pearls separating sections of the decoration and surrounding all portraits. Furniture and clothing are also shown covered with pearls and jewels in ornamental designs, reflecting a "precious" approach toward clothing and accoutrements, with decorative fields and ornamental patterns resembling goldsmithing, enameling, or silk textiles, as seen for example at El Nazar (fig. 1.35).

The tenth-century Cappadocian frescoes represent an important body of evidence for consideration alongside that of the Greek mosaics in an assessment of the character and genesis of the Middle Byzantine system, especially with regard to iconography. The consistent appearance of a similar, though expanded, selection of narrative scenes to that found in the Greek churches and an even greater variety of saints' portraits



Fig. 1.35. Cappadocia, El Nazar. Nativity, detail showing ornament, fresco. Photo by author.

suggest that both might derive from the same very rich tradition, one for which the physical evidence has been for the most part lost. Both groups also include ornament that is heavy and colorful and tends toward imitations of precious materials, jewelry, or fabrics. In spite of stylistic and technical differences related to the differences of medium, the "precious aesthetic," as we will refer to it, is an essential shared element that helps define their kinship. Our tenth-century church group from Cappadocia appears to have been inspired by art of the capital, and reflects an artistic koine and iconographic repertoire at large within the wider Byzantine Empire in this period.

The Middle Byzantine program as experienced in the tenth-century Cappadocian frescoes and in the eleventh-century Greek mosaics could not have arisen in a vacuum, but we nevertheless cannot identify clear origins in either pre- or post-iconoclastic examples of church decoration at any location. The pre-iconoclastic churches, although represented by domed as well as basilical building types, had a distinctly different approach to mural decoration.[68] Apse decorations on a grand scale tend to consist of theophanic visions, with sanctuary programs and walls of the nave comprising a more literal or topical range of subject matter and cycles. Although saints' portraits in more limited numbers and biblical scenes of a wide variety of cyclical types, from both Old and New Testaments, appeared in pre-iconoclastic churches, there was nothing comparable to the consistent dogmatic Christological cycle, or Dodekaorton, and extensive repertoire of saints' portraits that we have in the tenth- and

eleventh-century churches. The tenth- and eleventh-century programs are more liturgical in character, with an emphasis on dogmatic and festival images associated with certain days or times of the liturgical year, such as Easter. Some images serve as monumental icons.[69] A preponderance of gold ground over perspective depth or illusionism of pictorial setting becomes universal in the eleventh-century mosaics, a tendency observed in some mosaics of Italian churches in the fifth and sixth centuries. Pre-iconoclastic churches with mosaics tend to be large cathedral churches, as opposed to much smaller monastic or family-sponsored institutions, in the period after Iconoclasm. One feature must be noted for its continuity: the highly ornamental frames, clothing, and furnishings, a feature found in some Early Byzantine decoration, becomes standard in monumental mosaics and frescoes after Iconoclasm. San Vitale in Ravenna, notable for its lavish ornamental borders, presages the precious character of Middle Byzantine ornament. Ornamental bands separating architectural units and jewels formerly found in thrones and monumental crosses now appear throughout the imagery and its setting, in all media, evoking luxury objects and materials.

What were the origins of this system of church decoration found fully developed in the three eleventh-century Greek churches? The frescoes of the tenth-century Cappadocian cave churches offer a tantalizing clue with their eclectic designs, diverse iconography, and possible Constantinopolitan connections. We turn next to the art of the capital of the empire, in the period of the second half of the ninth and early tenth centuries, when the Byzantine state was recovering from Iconoclasm. For it was in Constantinople that the struggle to rebuild church and empire was centered in the years after 843, and here that emperor and patriarch negotiated a balance of power. The capital was uniquely situated for the inception of an official, imperially sponsored Christian art made up of symbolically powerful imagery and luxury media, an art that was formulated to support the newly revised identity and ideology of this Orthodox state.[70]

CHAPTER 2

THE LOST MOSAICS OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE MIDDLE BYZANTINE PROGRAM OF CHURCH DECORATION

THE MIDDLE BYZANTINE system of decoration seen in the mosaics of the monasteries of Hosios Loukas, Nea Moni, and Daphni in Greece has been the subject of analysis and speculation by scholars for more than a century.[1] There is, however, still no satisfactory explanation of the overall character and rationale behind this remarkable synthesis of architecture and mural decoration. Where and when did this system of imagery originate? By whom was it formulated, and why? The likely place for this development was in Constantinople, after the end of Iconoclasm in 843. In the present chapter I focus on two questions: How does the limited evidence concerning the lost Constantinopolitan mosaic programs of the period following Iconoclasm inform our understanding of the extant examples that are the subject of this inquiry? And what was the contemporary Byzantine reception of the mosaic medium itself?

Under Iconoclasm, figural images of all types, *eikones*, were suppressed, and for a period of approximately one hundred years, from around 726 to 787, and then from 814 to 843, those who created, venerated, or protected images were persecuted, albeit inconsistently. Its resolution saw Orthodoxy redefined in relation to the production, role, and veneration of images. The period of the last half of the ninth century and the first part of the tenth corresponds to the first century of rule of the Macedonian dynasty, from 867 to 1056, a period in which mosaic decoration flourished as never before, if we rely on the literary sources.[2] Images were repositioned as necessary to affirm the truth of Orthodox doctrine and to invoke the healing or protective power of the saints. The Virgin Mary became the most frequently depicted and widely venerated of divine personages along with Jesus Christ.[3]

A new, unified system of decoration seems to have emerged along with the prevailing use of smaller, centralized designs for churches. The origin of these architectural designs has been a controversial topic and will not be discussed in this study.[4] It seems clear, however, that the scale and designs of the churches as well as their system of images differed markedly from pre-iconoclastic examples. As Robert Ousterhout has observed, "The [Middle] Byzantine church and its decoration functioned together, the one enhancing the other, forming a total work of art."[5] In the absence of surviving mosaiced churches of the time immediately following Iconoclasm, it is difficult to conceptualize the formative stages of this new scheme or to separate the church building from its decoration. How are the mosaics of the three churches in Greece to be viewed in relation to a resurgence of church imagery in the period after Iconoclasm?

While scholars have debated at length whether one can assume that Constantinople was the "center" from which artistic influence spread, the pendulum has swung back, and it is now generally acknowledged that major trends originated in the capital and were disseminated by various means outward to the provinces and beyond.[6] Numerous indications reflect the leading role of the capital. The "Queen of Cities," as it was called, was supposed to have been founded by Saint Andrew, superseding older foundation legends. From the tenth century on the city was thought to be protected by the Virgin Mary. Its position as a repository of Christian relics and as a leader in ecclesiastical matters is implied by its name of "New Jerusalem," referring to the apocalyptic vision of Revelations.[7] Coins minted in Constantinople depict Christ or the Virgin on the obverse in forms that reflect traditional types and even specific images once found in the capital.[8] It would be difficult to imagine the mystique projected by the city without the abundant testimony of writers from outlying cultures who experienced the city's buildings and their decoration, liturgies, and festivals firsthand and described them in terms of wonder.[9] The city's role was critical and central in all types of activity, and in this case, it was the place of origin of

travelling workshops that were commissioned to execute monumental decorations in mosaics.

For Constantinople and for Byzantine culture generally, the period from the end of Iconoclasm through the mid-tenth century was one of vigorous intellectual as well as artistic activity. The movement culminated in an artistic renaissance driven by the palace; where art and architecture were concerned, imperial patronage lent particular splendor to all forms of display.[10] Numerous buildings in Constantinople were decorated in mosaics at this time, as we know mainly from texts. Constantinople set the standard and provided artists and materials. Glass mosaic cubes in a wide range of colors and metallic cubes encasing a thin layer of silver or gold foil between transparent layers of glass were produced there. Such cubes were used in the depiction of narrative scenes and portraits of saints, as well as their gold backgrounds, and so determined the brilliant and glittering aesthetic of the mosaic medium. Exported products of this splendid and costly art form are still found from Kiev to Palermo and around the former Byzantine Empire.[11] Henry Maguire shows that a Constantinopolitan workshop, working at the end of the Macedonian period, executed the mosaics of Nea Moni on the Aegean island of Chios under the sponsorship of the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055). He makes a compelling case not only for imperial patronage but also for the content; he argues that the mosaics should be seen from an "imperial perspective" as a visual panegyric honoring both Christ and the emperor.[12] The unusual design of the church, he posits, was likely based on the lost church of the Mangana monastery in Constantinople, also built by Constantine IX.[13] Other parts of the empire produced their own more surprising reactions to Constantinopolitan models.

Looking to the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire, one finds preserved in the rock-cut churches of Cappadocia frescoes that were a combination of both local styles and features emanating from the capital, as discussed in Chapter 1. As scholars have argued, the roots of their iconographic and stylistic canons could only have been in Constantinople, especially when the donors were from among the aristocratic elite or had imperial ties.[14] In 965 the emperor Nicephorus Phocas, known for his military successes in the eastern provinces, sponsored the frescoes of the so-called Pigeon House at Çavuşin.[15] Many of the subject categories familiar from the Greek churches appear on the walls and barrel vault of this simple, basilical-plan church, in a bold, schematic style. Into the program of frescoes at Çavuşin is interwoven a series of historical figures, narrative scenes, and saints' portraits that evoke the theme of military victory and even include images of the emperor enthroned with his family (compare figs. 1.34 and 2.1).[16]

In the "Église de la Citerne" recently discovered near Avcılar, the frescoes include a telling technical detail. The painter has imitated mosaics by using a pointillist technique, as seen for example in the halo of Christ



Fig. 2.1. Cappadocia, Çavuşin. View to northeast, niche with enthroned Emperor Nicephorus Phocas and family, fresco. Photo by author.

in a Deesis group in the apse (fig. 2.2).[17] This feature evidently stems from the desire to reproduce the effect of a model in mosaic, such as the mosaic that once appeared in the apse of the church of Saint John of Stoudios in Constantinople.[18]

Another cave church in Göreme Valley, Kılıçlar Kilise, of the first half of the tenth century, has a fully developed cross-in-square design and decorative program in frescoes that reflect contemporary tenth-century built churches of a type known to have been popular in Constantinople at this time (fig. 1.33).



Fig. 2.2. Cappadocia, Église de la Citerne. Detail of Christ of the Deesis, fresco. Photo by author.

In this and in the later, eleventh-century "column churches" of the region, the structural elements of a masonry church are reproduced by carving out the volcanic tuff. The effect is of a central nave surmounted by a dome "supported" by four columns. These churches are painted in a scheme approximating the classic Middle Byzantine program, discussed in Chapter 1.[19] The cultural dominance of Constantinople helps explain the formal homogeneity and character of Byzantine art in this remote enclave of the empire, but how is one to recover the lost paradigms for the Middle Byzantine artistic repertoire?

A search for the artistic models must start with the few surviving examples in mosaic, even though some are fragmentary. The Great Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, the imperial and patriarchal church of the empire, once had a much more fully developed program of figural mosaics than what survives today (fig. 2.3). In 867, twenty-four years after the end of Iconoclasm and the year the Macedonian dynasty took power, a new program of figural decoration was commenced. The original, Justinianic decoration of the sixth century had consisted mainly of vast expanses of gold mosaics covering vaults, arches, and walls. The new images were inserted into the preexisting gold grounds.

The first mosaic to be installed in Hagia Sophia was an Enthroned Virgin and Child in the main apse, described at its dedication in 867 by the patriarch Photius as a manifesto on the role of the visual and its function in the newly restored cult of images (fig. 2.4). This, and all images, were now deemed critical and instrumental for depicting the truth of the Incarnation and of Orthodox doctrine. The colossal figures



Fig. 2.3. Istanbul, Hagia Sophia. Interior general view looking east. Byzantine Institute, Inc. Collection: Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, DC.

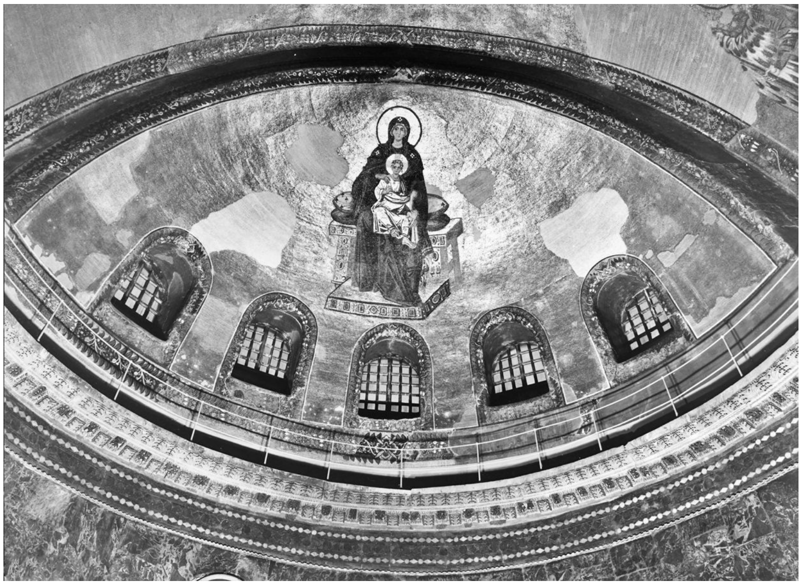


Fig. 2.4. Istanbul, Hagia Sophia. Sanctuary apse with Virgin and Child, mosaic. Byzantine Institute, Inc. Collection: Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, DC.

affirm the resolution of the iconoclastic conflict, as they gaze outward into the vast space of the church. An accompanying inscription running around the rim of the apse states the circumstances for the installation of the image: "The images which the impostors had cast down here the pious emperors have again set up."[20] Flanking the Virgin in the bema arch before the apse are the archangels Michael and Gabriel, also in colossal scale. In his sermon, Photius also exhorts the emperors to "consecrate the remainder of the church too with holy images."[21] This important suggestion was apparently followed.

Enough evidence survives for the great arched tympana on the north and south sides of the nave, with their three surviving portraits of bishops, to reconstruct a larger group of sixteen prophets, fourteen bishops, and four archangels, thanks to records made by nineteenth-century restorers, the Fossati brothers, and sketches by earlier travelers. Drawings by travelers permit a visualization of the original schemes of the tympana.[22] A colossal image of Christ was recorded in the main dome. Other mosaics dating to the ninth century were in the vaults of the church's galleries: a bust-length Pantokrator in a rainbow medallion and a Pentecost in the south gallery, seen in an eighteenth-century sketch by Loos, and possibly a Baptism and Transfiguration in the north gallery.[23] Another group, now mere fragments, once existed in a room at the south end of the west gallery, referred to as the "room over the southwest vestibule," identified as the Large Sekreton of the Patriarchate. A mosaic of the Deesis showing Christ seated on a lyre-backed throne between the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist survives in a fragmentary state over the doorway (fig. 2.5). Around the rest of the room apostles, martyrs, patriarchs, and prophets, along with Saints Helena and Constantine, all



Fig. 2.5. Istanbul, Hagia Sophia. Deesis (fragmentary), room over the southwest vestibule, mosaic. Photo by author.

dating soon after October 870, evoked "the visual environment for the center of Orthodoxy."[24]

Other mosaics, more overtly imperial in character, are found in lunettes, panels, and arches on both levels. A lunette mosaic over the Royal Door in the narthex, on the center axis of the church opposite the apse, shows an emperor prostrate before a large figure of Christ seated on a lyre-backed throne (fig. 2.6).[25]

Another large-scale and visually striking composition appears over the door of the southwest vestibule leading into the narthex: an Enthroned Virgin and Child framed by the standing emperors Constantine I and Justinian I, each presenting an appropriate gift: an emblematic city of Constantinople and the church of Hagia Sophia, respectively (fig. 2.7).[26] A mosaic portrait of the emperor Alexander (912–913), in full imperial regalia, was discovered on the south wall in the north gallery.[27]

Donation panels preserved on the east wall of the south gallery show hieratically arranged emperors and empresses presenting their gifts symbolically to Christ and the Virgin, on either side of a window. On the left side of the window is the so-called Zoe Panel, of 1028–1046. The empress Zoe and her third husband, Constantine IX Monomachos offer a closed scroll and a bag of gold, respectively, for Christ's acceptance. On the right is the John II and Irene panel of around 1118, using a similar formula of imperial donation (fig. 2.8).[28] The imperial content of the Hagia Sophia mosaics is self-evident. They serve as imperial icons, or images of authority, rather than records of specific acts or events.



Fig. 2.6. Istanbul, Hagia Sophia, Royal Door. Enthroned Christ with Prostrate Emperor in lunette, mosaic. Photo by author.

Monumental renditions of emperors and empresses in ritual settings have been recorded for other buildings, now lost, especially in the imperial palace and associated structures.[29]

Along with Hagia Sophia, the other major public church of Constantinople was the Church of the Holy Apostles; it is generally agreed that it was embellished with mosaics under the emperor Basil I between 867 and 886.[30] The building, its mosaics, and even its foundations were destroyed after the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453. Constantine the Rhodian, in his iambic poem of the mid-tenth century, describes the subjects of these mosaics: an enthroned Christ, or perhaps a Pantokrator, in the main dome,



Fig. 2.7. Istanbul, Hagia Sophia. Enthroned Virgin and Child with Constantine I and Justinian I, southwest vestibule mosaic. Photo by author.



Fig. 2.8. Istanbul, Hagia Sophia. Donation panels in south gallery, mosaic. Photo by author.

a Virgin Mary in the apse, along with the Twelve Apostles, and a cycle of gospel scenes on the walls: the Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation, Baptism, Transfiguration, Miracle of the Raising of the Widow's Son, Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Judas's Betrayal and the Arrest of Christ, and Crucifixion, among others.[31] A similar repertoire of dogmatic images and Christological scenes, with variations, must have become standard decoration for a new type of smaller church around this time, as literary sources indicate.

Like the Church of the Holy Apostles, or Apostoleion, the Great Palace of the Byzantine emperors survives largely in literary descriptions, although excavations carried out in the 1930s and later yielded impressive and tantalizing finds.[32] Both within the palace and around the city were numerous small, private churches, some built and decorated by imperial sponsors, as the sources relate. The Church of the Virgin of the Pharos within the Imperial Palace, refurbished by Michael III (842–867), is described in a homily pronounced at its dedication around 864. The homily, formulated as an ekphrasis, characteristically emphasizes the impression made on the beholder, and therefore should not be taken at face value; the iconography of certain images, however, is made clear:

> On the very ceiling is painted in colored mosaic cubes a man-like figure bearing the traits of Christ. . . . He is overseeing the earth and devising its orderly arrangement and government. In the concave segments next to the summit of the hemisphere a throng of angels is pictured escorting our common Lord. The apse which rises over the sanctuary glistens with the image of the Virgin stretching out her stainless arms on our behalf. A choir of apostles and martyrs, yea, of prophets too, and patriarchs fill and beautify the whole church with their images.[33]

The sermon refers to a Pantokrator, or perhaps an enthroned Christ, in the main dome, who is surrounded, in the cusped segments of the dome, by angels. In the apse is an orant Virgin. Apostles, martyrs, prophets, and patriarchs appear as single figures in lower portions of the church. If there were narrative scenes in the Pharos church, the homily does not mention them.

Another lost church, the Virgin of the Source at Pege, located just outside the walls of Constantinople, was refurbished by Basil I between 869 and 879 after being damaged in an earthquake. Its mosaics are known only from a list of inscriptions recorded in the *Greek Anthology*: an Ascension in the dome, and, in unspecified locations, a Crucifixion, Transfiguration, Presentation, Annunciation, and Healing of the Blind.[34] These inscriptions appear to reflect a cycle of narrative images put up during the campaign of 869–879, making it one of the earliest feast cycles after Iconoclasm. The inclusion in the cycle of New Testament narrative scenes of the miracle of the Healing of the Blind Man relates to

legends concerning the healing powers of the miraculous spring (*pege*) at the monastery, which was particularly effective in healing those with ailments of the eyes.[35]

Two more mosaiced churches are described by Basil's son and successor, the emperor Leo VI (886–912), in his sermons preached at their inaugurations. They are the church in the monastery of Kauleas in Constantinople, founded in the last years of the ninth century (Sermon 28), and, most illuminating for our purposes, the church built by Stylianus Zaoutzas between 886 and 893, described in Sermon 34. Here Leo states:

> In the center of the church, that is, in the segment of a sphere that rises at the summit, is an image that lacks the lower part of the body. I think that the artist wishes, by means of this treatment of the picture, to offer a mystical suggestion of the eternal greatness inherent in the One represented. . . And, at the springing of the hemisphere are represented, all round, His servitors whose being is higher than that of matter. They are the messengers (*angeloi*) of God's communications to men.[36]

Apparently, the Zaoutzas church had a Pantokrator of the bust type in the dome, resembling the Pantokrator at Daphni. The decoration lower down, according to the sermon, consisted of events of the Incarnation, which Leo describes briefly; they are the Annunciation, Nativity, Visit of the Magi, Presentation, Baptism, Transfiguration, Raising of Lazarus, Crucifixion, Burial, Anastasis, and Ascension. These all figure in the repertoire of Christological scenes that appear in the squinches and walls of the Greek churches. Two other sermons by Leo VI, numbers 16 and 29, concern two more imperially sponsored churches, Saint Demetrius in the Palace and Saint Thomas.[37] The churches of Leo's sermons, which can be seen as representative of a surge of palace activity, were likely ornamented similarly on their vaults and walls in mosaics, and continued and developed a tradition formulated in the decades after the end of Iconoclasm, under Michael III and Basil I.

The passages cited above indicate the general appearance of the first generation of post-iconoclastic churches under the Macedonian emperors. The texts are important because they indicate that emperors took the lead in sponsoring the building of churches within the palace and outside it in the period after Iconoclasm. The long list of churches built or restored by Basil I included in the mid-tenth-century *Vita Basilii* testifies to the great vigor of the church building movement of his reign, 867–886.[38] His most famous church, the Nea Ekklesia, seems to have been an anomaly, for it had multiple domes and was decorated primarily in Old Testament imagery. The Kauleas church, however, encompassed a repertoire of images typical of those found in the later churches of Greece and Cappadocia and around the empire. Its design is described simply as "supported on four columns," which must refer to a domed church of cross-in-square

plan. Fortunately, early examples of cross-in-square churches survive in Constantinople, although lacking their original mosaic decoration. Now that some of the first post-iconoclastic mosaics have been characterized through a review of the physical evidence and literary sources, the moment has come to consider surviving examples of churches in Constantinople and to visualize their lost decoration in mosaics.

While hundreds of monastic churches once existed in and around Constantinople in the medieval period, as we know from Raymond Janin's monumental studies, only a small fraction can be situated with any precision or their remains dated; a very few actually survive intact.[39] Two securely dated cross-in-square churches of the early tenth century now function as mosques: the Theotokos Church of Constantine Lips and the Church of the Virgin of the Myrelaion. Although they both appear today in a greatly altered state, it can nonetheless be demonstrated that particular wall surfaces were intended to exhibit mosaics, of which the excavators found traces. I would like to suggest that they can be hypothetically refurbished with figural mosaics, for certain types of surfaces invite particular compositions or arrangements of images.

The church of Constantine Lips, now known as Fenari Isa Camii, was dedicated in 907, and is the earliest preserved example of the cross-in-square type in the capital.[40] The dome, raised on a tall drum over the central square of the church, was carried on four columns, with pendentives as transitional elements. There are four vaulted arms of the cross, and vaulted corner bays completing the square. The bema with its apse is preceded by a vaulted bay and framed by apsed pastophoria. The narthex has three cross vaulted bays and apsidal niches at each end. After soundings and investigations of the church's foundations in the 1960s it was determined that it originally had sheets of marble revetment on its exterior façade and walls, and that two additional side chapels were located at the north and south corners parallel to the prothesis and diaconicon, thus making the east façade complex and unusually wide.[41] Three prominent and heavily ornamented cornices still run around the entire cruciform interior of the church, including ancillary chapels, breaking the tall walls into three horizontal registers or zones appropriate for varied types of ornament.[42]

The decorative sculpture of the interior of the Church of Constantine Lips represents the most outstanding collection of Middle Byzantine architectural ornament preserved. It is distinguished as much by its quantity as by its quality, including an extensive repertoire of motifs carved with utmost care and precision. The dome cornice is especially splendid, with deep projection and relief and intricate carving in twelve segments with repeated bouquets, palmettes, fleurons, stars, crosses, dentils, and so on; six frontal eagles divide the ring below the dome.[43] At the center of the cornice in the sanctuary is a cross inside a wreath flanked by partridges. The sculptural ornament was painted red against a blue background, and in some areas this color was still discernable in the 1980s.[44] The marble piers of the central apse are delicately ornamented

with stylized eagles, crosses, and leafy rinceaux.[45] Interior walls were revetted with panels of colored marble, some of it carved in low relief. Of special interest are the applied tiles excavated inside the Lips church. Designs in pseudo-Kufic lettering are among the decorative motifs on the tiles.[46] While a few traces of mosaic decoration have been detected, there is no record of the appearance of the decorative scheme.

Another Constantinopolitan church of the Macedonian period, the church at the monastery of the Myrelaion, known today as Bodrum Camii, was built by the usurper emperor Romanus I Lecapenus in 920 to 922; this sadly altered building was surveyed and excavated by Cecil L. Striker in 1965–1966. The church was built adjacent to Romanus's palace and originally served as the burial church for him and his family; it later served as a convent. Like the Lips church it is of cross-in-square design, with four groin-vaulted arms of the inscribed cross, four groin-vaulted corner chapels, and an eight-cusped melon dome on pendentives raised on a drum with eight windows. Striker notes that in curved surfaces throughout the building, and especially in the shape of the dome, it is "especially well adapted to receive mosaic decoration." He continues: "Here the curving surfaces with strong lighting between and their (doubtless) original mosaic sheath would have created a refined, ever-changing, and brilliantly dominating effect, appropriate to the central and crowning element of the interior architecture."[47] Domes cover the central bay of the narthex and both prothesis and diaconicon; apsed niches terminate the narthex at both ends, as we have seen in the Greek churches. The vaulting has survived remarkably well, without major modification, but no trace of decoration of any kind has been preserved in the church's interior. Fragmentary material excavated in the substructure and surrounds yielded mosaic tesserae, polychrome marble revetment, polychrome ceramic tiles, and opus sectile fragments from a floor. Like the Church of Constantine Lips of fifteen years earlier, this church was doubtless decorated in the most opulent and spectacular manner. These two early-tenth-century churches are the earliest surviving securely dated Constantinopolitan representatives of church building after the end of Iconoclasm. A comparable church, while not located in the capital, can be related to these two survivors.

The Theotokos Church at Hosios Loukas, described in Chapter 1, invites comparison to the architecture of the churches of Constantine Lips and the Myrelaion in Constantinople. Hosios Loukas's Theotokos Church dates to some thirty to forty years later than these, around 950. Its scale, plan, and refined proportions and details bear strong resemblances to the two Constantinopolitan churches, and its abundant sculpture, which includes animal, leaf, and multiple abstract motifs, indicates that architectural sculpture of high quality was not limited to Constantinople.[48] Although the fabric and mural thickness of the Theotokos church are less massive and the windows smaller, more attenuated, and more decorative than in the Lips church, there is great

attention paid to relief carving on all borders, window mullions, capitals, and templon, which were gilded and colored, and above all in the high dome and its exterior marble revetment. These and other details, such as pseudo-Kufic motifs on exterior masonry, bear similarities to features encountered at the Lips church. Such refinements and details indicate an imported source for the Theotokos, very likely a workshop and materials from Constantinople. The Theotokos Church was never decorated in mosaics or frescoes, since the neighboring Katholikon was apparently commenced soon after its construction.[49] Because of these close parallels between the Lips church and the Theotokos, one might assume that the Katholikon of Hosios Loukas, too, had Constantinopolitan sources.[50] Although the domed-octagon plan represents a variant on the cross-in-square plan, the two types are closely related in their integrated spatial and plastic wall concepts, and both would likely have originated in the capital. Although no such conclusive ties to Constantinople have been established for the Hosios Loukas mosaics as have been established for those at Nea Moni on Chios, the links can be inferred. Considering the surviving church buildings in Constantinople and the preserved mosaics and frescoes of the tenth and eleventh centuries, discussed in Chapter 1, one can now surmise how the lost tenth-century predecessors might have appeared.

A photograph taken by Thomas Mathews of the interior of the Myrelaion church documents the appearance of the eight-cusped melon dome and surrounding vaults as they appeared prior to 1976 (fig. 2.9).[51] Since the dome decoration of choice after Iconoclasm was the Pantokrator, this dome might have resembled a fourteenth-century lobed Pantokrator dome preserved at Kariye Djami in Istanbul,[52] and likewise, the mosaics in the groin-vaulted cross arms of the Myrelaion would have resembled those in a groin-vaulted bay at Hosios Loukas (cf. fig. 1.17).

Continuing in this vein, let us consider another documentary photo of the sanctuary of the Church of Constantine Lips (fig. 2.10).[53] The main apses of both the Lips and Myrelaion churches likely contained images of the Virgin and Child, as can be visualized in a juxtaposition of the sanctuaries of Constantine Lips and the Katholikon at Hosios Loukas (Cf. figs. 2.10 and 1.8).

The arched lunettes created by the groin vaults high on the sidewalls of the cross arms would have contained the familiar narrative scenes, as seen at Daphni (Cf. figs 2.9 and 1.30). There would have been eight such lunettes at the Myrelaion. At the Lips church, four more arched lunettes formed by the cross vaults of the corner bays would have been ideal for individual half-length figures, such as those seen at Hosios Loukas (fig. 1.18). The remaining arches, groin vaults, walls, and lunettes of both churches would have contained images of individual "holy figures," as described by Leo VI for the Kauleas church.[54] Over the door in the west wall of the naos at the Lips and Myrelaion churches one might

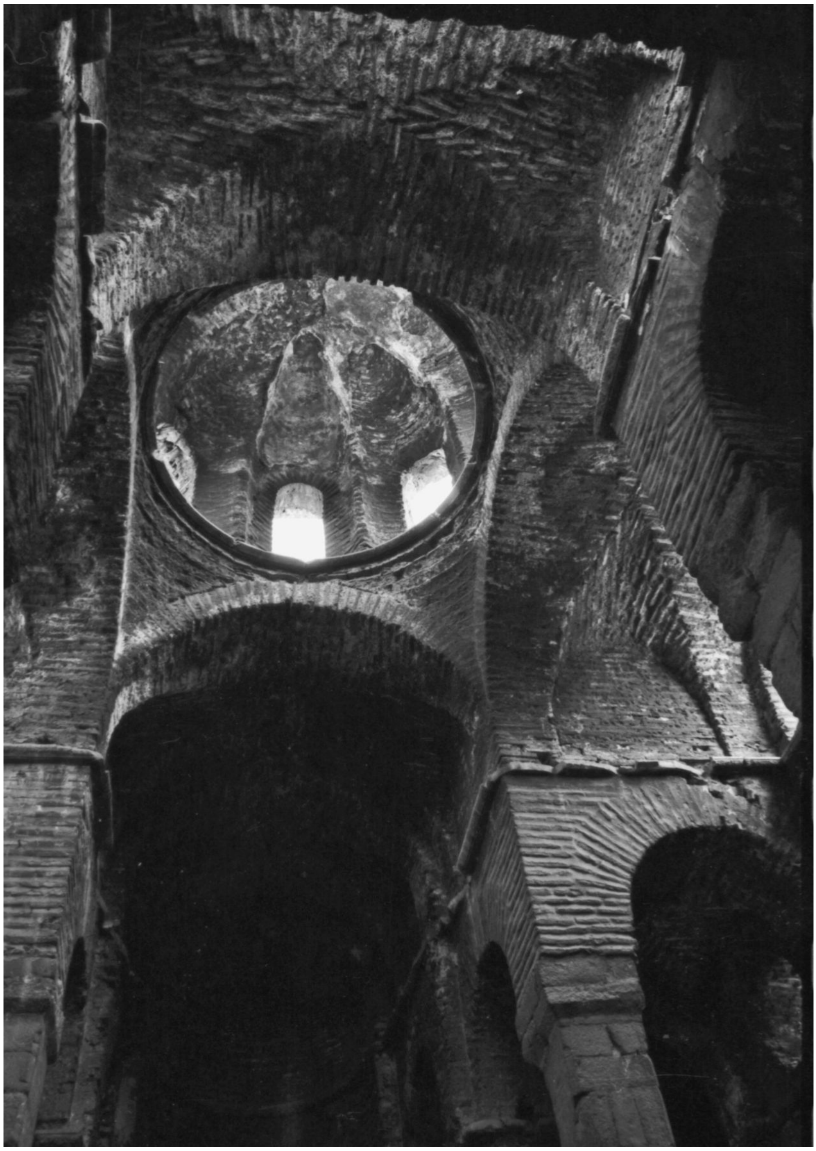


Fig. 2.9. Istanbul, Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii). Dome and surrounding vaults, before 1979. Courtesy Thomas F. Mathews Collection: Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, DC.

have found the Koimesis of the Virgin, which became standard in later times, as seen for example at Daphni and Kariye Camii.[55]

The narthexes, with their groined and domical vaults, provide surfaces for narrative scenes or groupings of saints or apostles on their walls and intrados of arches, as seen at Hosios Loukas (fig. 1.31). The large windows in the main apse and side arms of both the Constantine Lips and Myrelaion churches and around the drum of the dome were designed to provide excellent natural lighting for viewing the mosaics of the bema and naos during daylight hours; the same applies to the narthexes, which were well illuminated by western windows. The domed-octagon churches of Greece share the same principles of wall



Fig. 2.10. Istanbul, Church of Constantine Lips (Fenari Isa Camii). Sanctuary, facing east, before 1979. Courtesy Thomas F. Mathews Collection: Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, DC.

and vault articulation and fenestration as the cross-in-square churches of Constantinople, allowing a hypothetical reconstruction of the interior decoration of the latter through comparison with existing mosaics, still preserved in their architectural settings. We are dealing here with two well-preserved systems: the coherent architectural framework of the two Constantinopolitan churches just described and the coherent architecture and decoration of the three Greek churches discussed in Chapter 1. In their interconnections, they make their own case, visually, for a common origin.

Reconstructing this lost art of Constantinople enables a more nuanced discussion of the links between churches built and decorated in the years after Iconoclasm, and the later programs of Cappadocia, Greece, and elsewhere. This picture, however, is not limited to issues of design and programmatic content but, in the case of the lost Constantinopolitan churches, also includes information about the expressive and symbolic use of the medium of mosaic. Textual descriptions of mosaics reveal the natural fluidity and interchange of connotations between the imperial and the divine, the holy and the precious, the spectacular and the sacred. Dominic Janes in his seminal work on the symbolism of display used in the sumptuous arts and decoration of churches of the fourth through seventh centuries in Italy demonstrates how its visual and intrinsic brilliance helped the early church gain adherents and power.[56] In the critical years after the end of Iconoclasm, messages about ecclesiastical dogma, holiness, the role of imagery, and imperial or imperially related sponsorship were conveyed and expounded on the vaults and walls of buildings through mosaics. An elevated status or added value, symbolic and aesthetic, was inherent in the medium, as contemporary texts indicate.

The sermon preached around 864 at the inauguration of the Pharos church in the palace by the Orthodox patriarch Photius emphasizes the impact on the viewer of the mosaics; that is, he allows us to perceive them from the point of view of a ninth-century Byzantine beholder. According to this ekphrasis on the impression made by the church, the interior inspires "joy and trepidation and astonishment"

> as if one had entered heaven itself with no one barring the way from any side, and was illuminated by the beauty in all forms shining all around like so many stars, so is one utterly amazed. Thenceforth it seems that everything is in ecstatic motion, and the church itself is circling around. For the spectator, through his whirling about in all directions and being constantly astir, which he is forced to experience by the variegated spectacle [*he pantachothen poikilia. . . tou theamatos*] on all sides, imagines that his personal condition is transferred to the object. . . . Gold and silver cover the greater part of the church, the one [coating] tesserae [*ho men psephisin epaleiphomenos*], the other cut out and fashioned into plaques. (Verse 5)[57]

The impact of the spectacle has disoriented the spectator, who feels overpowered by the surroundings; his stability is replaced by a sense of whirling confusion.[58] This effect is attributed to the power of artistry, in particular the "variegated spectacle" of the gold mosaics (*psephides*). The viewer's awe registers as infusion by a power greater than himself. According to Photius's ekphrasis, this mosaiced interior produces an involuntary kinetic response in the Byzantine viewer.

In describing the image of the Pantokrator in the dome (verse 6), "painted in coloured [literally, many-flowered] mosaic cubes [*poluanthesi*

psephisin eggegraptai]," he credits the skill of the mosaicist, saying, ". . . so accurately has the painter been inspired to represent, though only in forms and in colours, the Creator's care for us."[59] The medium is repeatedly credited with the capacity to convey the inexpressible relationship of images to the divine. Mosaics symbolically represent powers that are beyond human comprehension and provide a vehicle for humankind to experience its relationship to the otherworldly.

In his Seventeenth Homily, delivered at the inauguration of the apse mosaic in Hagia Sophia, Photius is even more specific about the power vested in the mosaic medium: "With such exactitude has the art of painting [*he zographou texne*], which is a reflection of inspiration from above, set up a lifelike imitation."[60] The art of painting, with reference to the mosaics, is no longer described as an acquired human skill but the result of divine inspiration coming directly from heaven. Furthermore, the process of beautifying Hagia Sophia with the image of the Virgin Mary also entails "mingling the bloom of colours [*ton chromaton anthe*] with religious truth [*ton dogmaton orthoteti*]."[61] The divinely inspired process of creating images renders them capable of expressing doctrinal truths, in this case, the Incarnation. What cannot be comprehended is thus conveyed visually through the spectacular medium of mosaic.

Homilies preached by the emperor Leo VI at the dedications of mosaiced churches in Constantinople reveal an interest in the role of the mosaicist-craftsman. In Sermon 28, of 893–901, after describing the image of Christ in the dome of the Kauleas church, he explains:

> The rest of the church's hollow [dome] and the arches on which the roof is supported have images of [God's] own servants, all of them made of mosaic coated with gold. The craftsman has made abundant use of gold whose utility he perceived: for, by its admixture, he intended to endow the pictures with such beauty as appears in the apparel of the emperor's entourage. Furthermore, he realized that the pallor of gold was an appropriate color to express the virtue of Christ's members.[62]

The symbolic use of gold mosaic to depict the most holy personages, as well as imperial splendor, not only indicates the appropriate color (gold), but the appropriate medium (mosaic). The explicit mention of gold mosaics serves to associate the richness and beauty of the glittering medium with imperial sponsorship, and also with depictions of the most sacred subjects. Leo mentions an admixture of gold, which must refer to the sprinkling of gold tesserae, or lines of tesserae, through the colors of garments. Gold highlights would have enhanced even further the sparkle of the glass tesserae, and produced a chrysography in the garments, a technique similar to that found in manuscript and icon painting.[63] Again in Leo's description of the Stylianus Zaoutzas church, of 889–893, he remarks at the end of the ekphrasis: "Such, then, are the upper beauties

of the church, and they are all made of mosaic coated with gold."[64] Above the polychrome marble revetments, in the high vaults and dome, all the images are thus described as having gold mosaic grounds. Gold tesserae mixed into the colored tesserae used to depict garments have a parallel in the use of gold thread for woven garments, known to have had the highest status.[65] The use of gold implicitly evokes a parallelism between the earthly and the divine, between the emperor's court and "God's servants," and hence between the emperor and Christ. Although it would have been self-evident to the audience at such an event that the images were in the mosaic medium, "mosaic coated with gold" is repeatedly specified as appropriate for evoking rhetorically the highest status, patronage, and symbolic value. Photius refers to the multitude of "flower colors" (*ton chromaton anthe*), but Leo is intent on the dominant role in the overall scheme of gold, in particular the gold mosaics.

The most famous church commissioned by Basil I was the Nea Ekklesia, built within the imperial palace and completed in 880; it included lavish furnishings and extensive grounds and dependencies. In the description by his grandson, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, written ca. 950, the precious materials are evoked and compared to a bride

> decked out and adorned with pearls and gold and gleaming silver and moreover, with a variety of many-colored marbles, mosaic compositions [*psephidon sunthesesin*] and silken robes. The ceilings of that five-domed church glitter with gold and flash forth their beautiful representations like as many stars.[66]

The intrinsic value of the materials is emphasized, except in the case of the mosaics. These are mentioned as beautiful images (*eikonon . . . kallesin*) valued for their aesthetic force and visual appeal.[67] The shining or flashing qualities of mosaics are even more symbolically important than their intrinsic value. One of the foundations restored by Basil within the palace walls was the church of Elijah the Tishbite, of which the most notable feature was evidently its mosaics: "For its roof [or ceiling] above, consisting entirely of well-fitting mosaic tesserae, used to be resplendent with gold, though by now, with the passage of time, frequent rains, wintry snows and frosts have damaged it and thus have spoiled much of its beauty." In this unusual mention of damage to a mosaic, we are reminded of the fragility of the medium, especially if a leaky roof allows water to penetrate behind its plaster base and freeze. Even the most finely crafted mosaic develops cracks and gradually disintegrates if neglected. Apparently, eighty years after its construction this vault was in serious disrepair.

One of the most magnificent imperial buildings erected by Basil I was the Kainourgion, for it "strikes spectators with amazement."[68] The high walls and eastern semidome have been "covered with beautiful golden mosaic cubes [*ek psephidon horaion . . . katakechrusotai*]."[69] Among

the subjects of the mosaics are members of the imperial family: "Next, there comes another delight, made of golden cubes [*ek chrusou psephidon*], showing the emperor, the creator of the building."[70] Lofty subjects are associated with the most worthy medium, as also indicated by Constantine's description of the ceiling of the bedchamber: "Throughout, it glistens and glitters with gold: in its very center, it displays the victorious cross, outlined in green glass [*nikopoion stauron hualo prasio diamorphoumenon*]."[71] The most spectacular aspects of the decoration are associated with high symbolic value through their precious medium. Mosaics are repeatedly specified as the ideal medium of expression to convey the notion of the linkage between emperor and God, and are indissolubly linked to imperial ideology. In summing up Basil's buildings, Constantine even associates his works with his character:

> By the extravagance and abundance of their precious materials, the novelty of their form and the magnificence of their plans, these structures give an intimation of our emperor's magnanimity and love of beauty.[72]

The high moral character of the emperor Basil I is reflected in his choice of beautiful and precious materials. His grandson, Constantine VII, in this single sentence, conveys the value system of the age in terms of imperial prerogative and taste.

A poem by Constantine Rhodius, dating to 900–950, describes the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople.[73] The poet's language and the tone of his commentary, however formulaic at times, are indicative of attitudes to and perceptions of mosaic decoration. The central dome bears a representation of Christ, the Virgin, and apostles:

> The whole inner space has been covered with a mixture of gold and glass, as much as forms the domed roof and rises above the hollowed arches, down to the revetment of multicolored marbles and the second cornice. Represented here are the deeds and venerable forms which narrate the abasement of the Logos and His presence among us mortals.[74]

Gold and glass, referring to gold mosaics, are the materials chosen to represent the Incarnation of the Logos and scenes of his life. Mosaic is singled out as the medium appropriate to this subject matter. The subjects are then presented in a series of essays on the drama of each scene. At Christ's Passion, the poet refers to the image of the crucified Christ as the spectacle among wonders: *theama panton thaumaton*. Spectacle and powerful imagery are linked to the medium of mosaics by association. The same church and its mosaics are described by Nicholas Mesarites around 1200, in a long poem that emphasizes the mosaics rather than the architecture.[75] After his moving description of the martyrdoms of the

apostles, he turns to the impression made by the church: "For it fills the sight with the beauty of its colors and by the golden gleam of its mosaics [*to ton psephidon chrusizonti*], and strikes the intelligence through its surpassing size and skilful construction."[76] The golden gleam of mosaics makes a searing impression on the senses and, appropriately, represents the awe-inspiring spectacle of the Holy.

In the wake of Iconoclasm, it was in the now-lost imperial churches and palaces of Constantinople that the medium of mosaic was honed into a politico-religious tool of stunning effectiveness. These images served to help express the unshakable unity of church and palace, with the objective of avoiding any such splintering of the empire as had occurred in Iconoclasm. Starting with Michael III, emperors were directly or indirectly responsible for the commissioning of mosaics, and these in turn were intended to evoke symbolically the virtues of the emperor through their beauty and brilliance. The splendor of the medium evoked not only Christ's appearance on earth but also the partnership of the emperor with his divine cohort. In our search for the social and cultural origins of the Middle Byzantine system, we find that not only the content but also the medium itself contributed to the intended reception and connotations of lost decorative programs, now retrievable only by close reading of a variety of texts.

That the mosaic medium and its expert execution emanated from the capital seems more than likely, especially considering the arts referred to in passages describing the buildings created by the first generations of rulers after Iconoclasm. The monumental mosaic image of Christ over the portal of the Chalke Gate must have been one of the first images executed under imperial sponsorship in the wake of Iconoclasm.[77] The expense of fully exploiting the medium—including the production of raw materials and the large pool of expert craftsmen that would have been required—would necessarily limit the development of the art of mosaic to the capital. There were other reasons for this localization: the imperial house likely appropriated and controlled the art of mosaic just as it did other luxury media, such as silk production and the manufacture of purple dye. Just as strategic placement of images within the palace permitted the envisioning of the relationship between emperor and God, the relationship of the divine and unchallengeable authority of the emperor over his subjects was expressed implicitly in the mosaics of domed churches throughout the city, and eventually around the empire, through imperial patronage. The Greek mosaics thus make possible the conceptual leap from the lost chapels of the imperial palace in Constantinople to the monastic and rural churches of the distant provinces, with their orderly visual language of harmonious membership and participation in God's earthly kingdom.

CHAPTER 3

URBAN CULTURE OF THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES

SINCE THE FORMATIVE process for the Middle Byzantine mosaic program likely took place in Constantinople in the last half of the ninth and early tenth centuries, as discussed in the preceding chapter, we now turn to a look at historical events, along with intellectual, literary, and artistic developments of this time. In doing so, we glean insights into the cultural environment that contributed to this process. For as mentioned earlier, the emperors Michael III, Basil I, and Leo VI sponsored buildings and decoration that marked a change in the character and appearance of churches and their decoration from what they had been before Iconoclasm. Is it possible to identify some features of the historical and cultural context that might have had a bearing on this change?

The systematizing and proliferation of monumental imagery in mosaic expressing and expounding a mixture of imperial and religious agendas must have had a rationale stemming from the broader social and cultural context. When interpreted as part of a synoptic process, the flourishing of the mosaic medium can be read as the expression of a combination of preoccupations within the fabric of a society, as Glen Bowersock has shown in the case of Near Eastern floor mosaics in his book *Mosaics as History*. If we see mosaics appropriately embedded within their cultural context, they bear witness to the conditions that created them, acting as a primary source, or a form of visual documentation. The Middle Byzantine mosaic program of church decoration is an urban phenomenon that developed in response to a particular set of circumstances

at this particular time. How did the cultural climate of Constantinople contribute to the birth to this new system?

Three types of conditions or circumstances likely influenced developments in Byzantine culture in the period following Iconoclasm.[1] These are, first, internal and external historical events affecting the welfare and stability of the empire; second, philosophical and religious debates that held the attention of all levels of society, including the emperors; and third, a revival in intellectual life and artistic production, including literary works and small-scale artworks in various media that were sponsored by an elite clientele. After summarizing these three conditions, I will address specific initiatives that underscore the connection between cultural currents and the role of mosaics at this time: an illustrated book of sermons, a poem describing a bath building, and an encomium of an emperor. Each reveals conditions within the ninth- and tenth-century urban context of Constantinople that have a bearing on the origins of the Middle Byzantine mosaic program.

HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

By the time of the official end of Iconoclasm and the celebration of the Triumph of Orthodoxy in 843, a process of societal change was already under way—the term "Triumph of Orthodoxy" was obviously used by those who were the victors in the struggle and reflects an iconophile bias.[2] The period was characterized not only by greater economic prosperity and military success than in the preceding two centuries but also by a renewed confidence and sense of cultural identity. Around the turn of the eighth century Byzantium had been swept into a new global arena. The Frankish ruler Charlemagne had made his empire the strongest in western Europe, allying himself with Rome and the papacy; according to Ostrogorsky, "From the year 800 onwards two Empires, an Eastern and a Western, stood face to face."[3] While Western Europe confronted the Byzantine Empire to its east in the first half of the ninth century, the Byzantine state saw war or threats to its stability on all fronts and throughout its territories.

The challenges of a rejuvenated Western Roman Empire were countered and a compromise reached by the division of former Byzantine holdings into a buffer zone in eastern Italy. A major reorganization of the theme system of military divisions and provincial administration and financial reforms of the system of taxation by the emperor Nicephorus I (802–811) helped prepare the empire to meet its crises. The Balkans, in particular Bulgaria, came into direct military confrontation with Byzantium; the Bulgarians even succeeded in annihilating the Byzantine army in 811, killing the emperor Nicephorus I and his leading generals, and sacking major cities of Thrace in proximity to the capital.[4]

Michael II (820–829), founder of the Amorian dynasty, had some success dealing with military challenges in the eastern part of the empire.

He subdued the allied rebels of Asia Minor with the help of former enemies, the Bulgarians. At the same time, however, Muslim Arabs conquered Crete around 826 and set up a strategic base there for attacks on the coasts of Hellas and the Aegean islands. This situation would cause the Byzantines security problems in the eastern Mediterranean for more than a century, until the reconquest of Crete in 961. Just as Michael's son, Theophilus (829–842), succeeded to the throne, wars with the Muslims of Asia Minor grew especially threatening, and drew to a climax with the capture by the Arabs of Ancyra, Amorium, and Mauropotamos, strategically important Byzantine cities in the heartland of Anatolia, in 838.[5] Although an iconoclast, Theophilus was a great builder as well as the author of military and monetary reforms. He further strengthened the demographic base through the integration of Muslim converts into the Byzantine army and their resettlement within the empire. A psychological boost came from his rescue of Byzantine captives from the Bulgarians, and by 842 a new prosperity and confidence strengthened his son's chances of achieving lasting peace and stability for the empire.

Theophilus's son, Michael III (842–867), was able to seize power from his mother, Theodora, who had acted as regent from 842 to 856. It was she who had proclaimed an end to Iconoclasm in 843. Michael was more successful militarily than his father, and, in spite of losses to the Arabs in southern Italy and Sicily, the front in Asia Minor was more successful and finally shifted to a Byzantine offensive.[6] The consolidation of Byzantine territories in Asia led to a time of mutual cultural exchange with the Muslim Arabs, and a period of prosperity ensued, starting in the mid-ninth century (see map, fig. 3.1). A terrifying siege of Constantinople in 860 by the Rus from beyond the northern frontiers was resolved in the successful defense of the city by the emperor Michael, who was aided, it was believed, by the miraculous powers of a precious relic, the Virgin Mary's robe. The Patriarch Photius refers to the miracle in a sermon:

> For immediately as the Virgin's garment went round the walls, the barbarians gave up the siege and broke camp, while we were delivered from impending capture and were granted unexpected salvation.[7]

The role of the Mother of God as militant protector of the city was affirmed, and with it a renewal of longstanding dedication to her cult at sites within and around the city.[8] In a rapid turn of events, Michael's trust and eventual adoption of Basil, a Thracian soldier who started out as a palace groom, led to his overthrow. After being made co-emperor, Basil had his benefactor murdered and seized the throne in 867.

When Basil I (867–886) took the throne and founded the Macedonian dynasty, he found an empire in need of military and diplomatic leadership. Continuing in a long succession of soldier-emperors, Basil was prepared for the military task, but he also recognized the need for religious and political stability in order to avoid another internal splintering of



Fig. 3.1. Map of the Byzantine World, with sites mentioned in text. Ancient World Mapping Center, 2015, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

the empire, as in Iconoclasm. His desire for religious unity and a strong identity as a divinely protected ruler drove much of Basil's personal and political agenda. In this highly militaristic society the emperor, his generals, and his armies were constantly engaged in the major work of preservation of a state of détente along the borders of the empire. By 872, Arabs in Sicily, Dalmatia, and Cyprus and the Paulicians in central Anatolia had been neutralized.[9] In the heroic epic poem *Digenes Akrites*, set in central Anatolia and further east on the Byzantine-Muslim frontier, another Basil, Basil the Border Lord, appears as the ideal warrior, protected by God and the saints, in particular the holy warriors, who were highly popular among the Byzantine military:[10]

> I will declare his works to you
> Which in this present life he did.
> How warriors mighty and brave
> He overawed, and all wild beasts,
> Having to help the grace of God,
> And of God's mother unconquerable,
> Of the angels and archangels,
> Of the prize-bearing great martyrs,
> Of both the glorious Theodores,
> The host's leader and the recruit,
> Of noble George of many trials
> And wonder-working martyr of martyrs
> Glorious Demetrios, defender
> Of Basil, boast and pride of him
> Who had victory on his adversaries. . . .[11]

Preoccupations with the defense of the empire focused not only on leadership, arms, and armies, but also on successful intercession with the saints.[12] A proliferation of images of the saints appeared consistently in the church programs of the tenth and eleventh centuries, with a prevalence of depictions of military saints, the "prize-bearing" and "glorious," and "wonder working martyrs," along with images of the Virgin placed prominently throughout the church, including the main apse. An association of these with the protection of the empire may be associated with the popularity of their images.

PHILOSOPHICAL AND RELIGIOUS ISSUES

Religious differences occupied much of the empire's attention when it came to interactions with its neighbors. During the first half of the ninth century, at the time of the second period of Iconoclasm, from 815 to 843, the rising power of monasticism played an important role in the internal affairs of the state. At the time of Charlemagne's rise to power, an attempt at consolidation of both the eastern and western empires

was made through the alleged engagement in 802 of Charlemagne himself to the widowed Byzantine empress Irene. This did not take place, and it was followed by a planned marriage of their children, which also failed to take place.[13] At this juncture the religious differences between the two empires became even more evident, with the papacy taking sides by turns, resulting in a schism between the western Catholic Church and the Eastern Orthodox Church, a rupture that would never be entirely resolved. Within the empire, another ongoing division was the standoff between imperial power and the monastic clergy, with Theodore the Studite, abbot of the Monastery of Saint John of Stoudios in Constantinople, leading the radical party of iconodules.[14] Patriarch Nicephorus I (806–815), a historian, scholar, and founder of monasteries, defended the cult of icons and tried in vain to mediate the feud between the imperial house and Studite faction.[15]

In 815 Iconoclasm was reinstated and Theodore of Stoudios forced into exile along with his followers. Under Michael II (820–829), however, the division moderated, and Theodore along with Nicephorus, the former patriarch, were recalled from exile. Under Michael's son Theophilus (829–842) Iconoclasm was not so much defeated as it simply lost its vigor. This emperor was not an uneducated soldier as the preceding ones had been. He had a liberal education and an interest in art, architecture, and high culture, especially that of the Muslim Arabs.[16] Under the iconoclast patriarch John the Grammarian, known for his persecution of iconodule monastics, the influence of Iconoclasm was limited to the capital, and it collapsed with the death of Theophilus in 842.[17] Whatever the combined factors that led to the gradual reinvigoration of the empire throughout this period—religious, political, or military—the Triumph of Orthodoxy, celebrated in 843 by the regent Theodora, widow of Theophilus and mother of three-year-old Michael III, marked a new beginning. From the late ninth century on, the day was commemorated annually on May 11 as the Feast of Orthodoxy. Military aggression on all fronts, combined with the civil strife of Iconoclasm, had weakened the empire. The defeat of Iconoclasm was therefore a significant stimulus for the cultural life of Byzantium, as were the ensuing political and military successes under Michael III (842–867) and Basil I (867–886).[18]

In 858 the polymath, diplomat, and scholar Photius (patriarch 858–867 and 878–886) ascended the patriarchal throne under Michael III, but his appointment was met with resistance by a Studite monastic group loyal to his predecessor, Ignatius. This division led to the Studites' appeal to Rome, which in turn led the papacy to oppose Photius's appointment and become embroiled in the affairs of the Orthodox Church.[19] The struggle over leadership of the universal church posed a challenge to Photius, which he met by undertaking a wide-reaching program of missionary activity, eventually bringing Slavs, including Russians, Moravians, and Bulgarians into the orbit of the Orthodox Church, a tremendously significant and enduring accomplishment. In

867, heated exchanges between Rome and Byzantium led to the mutual condemnation of the eastern and western patriarchs, with disagreement over the inclusion of the *filioque* clause in the Creed cited as one Byzantine pretext for a break between the churches.[20]

The role of the patriarch was a highly visible and contentious issue in the second half of the ninth century, and Photius was a powerful force. At the death of Michael III in 867, Photius was expelled from his position by Michael's successor, Basil I, in an attempt to avoid further conflict with Rome and restore peaceful coexistence with the western church. At or before[21] Ignatius's death in 878 Photius was recalled from exile. He was reinstalled as patriarch in 878, only to be expelled again at the death of Basil I in 886. His influence, however, was profound and lasting, as we will see below. Basil's son, Leo VI (886–912), named his brother Stephan as patriarch in 886, bringing the affairs of church and state together under the auspices of the imperial family.[22]

Unlike the Latin-speaking west, in which the pope ruled in the fashion of a king, with power over emperors as well as the church, the patriarch in Byzantium was increasingly subject to the authority of the emperor. They could agree, or disagree, on how to divide their power in public matters, but Photius aspired to greater authority than previous patriarchs and was highly active in political affairs.[23] The rule of Leo VI reverted to a more caesaropapist style of power, with the emperor in control, for the most part, of both church and state, while under Basil a balance had been struck in favor of a more equal division. The tug of war between patriarch and emperor was in full swing when an important document for religious practice was being assembled.

Sometime in the late ninth century, a liturgical document was compiled, establishing the celebration of movable and immovable feasts throughout the calendar year, the *Typikon of the Great Church*.[24] The services described in the *Typikon* were celebrated in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, the principal church of the empire, and gave a greater visibility, permanence, and regularity to church ritual than previously. Prescribed services commemorated biblical events, saints' martyrdoms, and translations of relics, along with other memorable events or crises affecting the welfare of city and empire, such as natural disasters and crises of defense. This resulted in a dense pattern of scheduled religious observances, and they were commemorated in a timeless cycle from year to year. The production of the *Typikon* signals a new emphasis on systematization of practice. It also exemplifies an important movement underway earlier in the ninth century, the effort to gather, preserve, and codify texts.

INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC REVIVAL

Although the founder of the Macedonian dynasty was of peasant origin, with little or no education before ascending the throne, he was

surrounded in the capital by an elite who valued and supported scholarly endeavors and who were already participating in a scholarly revival. Basil I, recognizing the importance of this movement for his own rule, assured that his children, both male and female, were well-educated and "made wise."[25] A renewed focus on learning and preservation of ancient literature had started gathering momentum in the first half of the ninth century under the Amorian dynasty. The period merits special attention as the seedbed of a movement in urban culture that would significantly define Basil's rule and those of his sons and grandson. The ban on figural imagery during the first and second phases of Iconoclasm did not prevent the fostering of a reverential attitude toward the past, a long held tenet within Byzantium, combined with a zeal to preserve its heritage. The need in this case helped devise the means: a revolution in writing technique proved to be instrumental in preserving the literary heritage of the past.

A preference for minuscule writing, a new cursive script, in contrast to the traditional uncial script, benefitted this movement in multiple ways. It shortened the time needed to copy a page of text, and made it possible to fit more text on a given page, thereby saving on materials expense and allowing the stretching of available resources, namely, ink and parchment, as well as a scribe's time.[26] From the ninth century on the use of breathings, accents, and ligatures further enhanced the utility of the new Greek script; word division started at the end of the ninth century, facilitating silent reading as well as oral delivery.[27] Although this conjunction of need and technology has been debated as the cause behind the increasingly widespread use of minuscule from the late eighth century on, it is probable that some practical need drove the rapid and widespread adoption of the new script, which was useful to both iconoclasts and iconodules in disseminating their arguments and refutations in written form.[28]

It is to this scholarly movement that we owe the preservation of the huge corpus of ancient literature in Greek, for behind the copying of texts were great scholars who were driving the movement in the early ninth century and before. The use of cursive script brought increased accessibility of texts to those who were eager to study and edit them. In the early ninth century there was a small but notable learned elite, or intelligentsia, consisting of civil servants, church officials, and urban monks, such as those at the Stoudios Monastery, who fostered the nascent movement.[29]

Hand in hand with the copying of texts went a scholarly movement aimed at compilation and systematizing of works, a renewed study and appreciation of ancient literature and learning, and the spread of literacy more broadly throughout the urban population. Although conditions under which scholarly or scientific activity might flourish had been hampered during Iconoclasm, in the second period of Iconoclasm a heightened historical consciousness accompanied, or even preceded,

the gradual increase in the stability of the empire.[30] As Brubaker and Haldon conclude, "Byzantines . . . began to look for meaning in the past and to search for connections between their own times and earlier ages, in particular the golden age of Justinian I."[31] There seems to have been a need to form or re-form a cultural identity, as indicated by histories written by Patriarch Nicephorus and Theophanes the Confessor, as well as the flourishing of hagiography as a form of writing about the past.[32]

The cultural identity that grew out of Iconoclasm was Byzantium's link with the intellectual tradition of ancient Greece and the golden age of Justinian I, and we owe the survival of this tradition to the educated class responsible for the intellectual revival of the ninth century. Indeed, one form of continuity with the age of Justinian was the use of selected works of ancient literature as the schoolbooks of the times, and the Attic dialect was again cultivated for its literary style.[33] The last iconoclast patriarch, Ignatius the Deacon, was a scholar of classical learning as well as a prolific author, writing in a style reminiscent of ancient orators and historians of classical Attica. Described as a great admirer of the pagans, he undoubtedly also used the content of pagan texts to formulate and justify his iconoclast views, as was noted by his iconodule successors.[34]

Among the great pioneers of the scholastic movement, Leo the Philosopher, also known as Leo the Mathematician, stands out as the first university professor.[35] Leo was the cousin of the last iconoclast patriarch, Ignatius the Deacon. With his influence, Leo gained the position of archbishop of Thessaloniki.[36] His notoriety initially stemmed from the story of his invitation by the Arab caliph Mamun to bring his knowledge of mathematics to the court in Baghdad. Instead, he accepted a salary and position as a teacher at the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Constantinople offered him by the emperor Theophilus.[37] Later he was named head of the Magnaura School housed in the Magnaura Palace in Constantinople, where he taught until his death in around 869. Founded by the Caesar Bardas under Michael III in around 860, the Magnaura School is considered a predecessor of the modern university. Leo was renowned as a teacher throughout his lifetime and had wide-ranging interests in science and mathematics as well as in literary studies, from Homer to astrological treatises. He is credited with the invention of a system of beacon signal lights, or optical telegraph, and of the marvelous automata seen at the court of Theophilus.[38] Over one thousand years later, these legendary contrivances made their way into Western consciousness as

> such a form as Grecian goldsmiths make,
> Of hammered gold and gold enameling,
> To keep a drowsy Emperor awake;
> Or set upon a golden bough to sing
> To lords and ladies of Byzantium . . .[39]

Leo, the great inventor, even though he bridged the transition from iconoclast to iconodule rule, seemed almost unaffected by these changing policies, and referred to himself simply as "the one called Hellene."[40] Leo's intellect was apparently only matched by that of Photius.

Photius, who assumed the position of patriarch in 858, was arguably the foremost intellectual of the time. His dramatic career bridges the years immediately after the end of Iconoclasm and the beginning of the Macedonian dynasty, in the second half of the ninth century. Both a layman and a theologian, he did perhaps more than any other individual to encourage the study of classical antiquity, but with a curious twist. Although a defender of Orthodoxy, he became identified with what is called the Photian Schism, a brief break in relations between pope and patriarch, between the Roman Church in the West and the Eastern Orthodox Church based in Constantinople. The topic of religious politics associated with Photius has proved to be more distracting than helpful in assessing his importance. Nonetheless, he contributed a new dynamic to the relationship between church and state during his two rounds of service as patriarch, 858–867 and 878–886. If there was a "renaissance," a period of intense humanistic endeavor and renewed interest in antiquity and in the received knowledge of the past, it matured with Photius.[41] Outward signs of this scholarly renaissance continued to shape Byzantine culture well into the tenth century and beyond. He was made a saint by the Orthodox Church; his feast day is February 6.

The erudite polymath Photius provided his most lasting influence on the literary tradition through his scholarly output, and it is still a mystery as to how he acquired the vast knowledge to support it. His *Lexikon* consisted of an alphabetical list of words intended to be of use to orators and prose writers, and is assumed to have been based on a lost exemplar.[42] The 280 volumes of the *Bibliotheca* corresponded to the same number of volumes in his personal library, with each chapter consisting of from two lines to seventy pages. It appears to be a record of his reading over many years, and consists of summaries of texts along with biographical notes on each author. His reasons for undertaking this huge (1,600 modern printed pages) series of reviews of theological and secular literature are uncertain, but may be related to his wish to leave a legacy to his brother Tarasius before departing on an embassy to the Arab court in Baghdad, in either 838 or 858.[43]

Behind the *Bibliotheca* lies a desire not only to collect examples of fine prose style and archaizing language, but also to accumulate and encapsulate vast quantities of knowledge and works of ancient authors, a practice identified as "encyclopedism." It may also be associated with a longstanding practice of literary criticism originating in late antiquity.[44] The achievement of the *Bibliotheca*, partly demonstrated by its popularity, was to define a new attitude to classicism, one that was no longer threatening but had been reconciled with a confident, newly affirmed Orthodox Christianity. A third major work, the *Amphilochia*, exemplifies

the same impulse, as it consists of three hundred chapters on a variety of topics, but mainly theological concerns.[45] The collected *Letters* of Photius are filled with classical allusions and discussions of themes from classical literature.[46] The *Homilies* represent yet another kind of collection; these are Photius's highly rhetorical sermons, delivered while he was patriarch on the occasion of dedications or events meriting memorialization from the ambo of Hagia Sophia. It is in these that our most vivid and numerous evocations of now-lost churches, their materials, structures, and imagery survive.

The scholarly movement was not limited to teachers and learned patriarchs but also included the Macedonian emperors themselves. Leo VI (886–912) retained the epithets "the Wise," and "the Philosopher" because of his erudition and writings.[47] The impulse toward compilation seen under Photius was to take a bureaucratic turn under Leo. He systematized aspects of administration of the empire, from which resulted the *Basilika*, a codification of the Law; the *Novels of Leo VI*; the *Book of the Eparch*, a treatise specifying the rules for professions and guilds; the *Kletorologion of Philotheos*, a list of the titles and awards by rank given to dignitaries during palace ceremonies; and the *Taktika*, on military tactics. Letters written by Leo describe churches dedicated by his father in law, Stylianus Zaoutzes, among others, indicating his interest in church building and decoration.[48] Even though Leo was a noncampaigning emperor, his struggles at home were nonetheless dangerous to his welfare; he found himself up against the firm regulation of marriage by the church. He is perhaps best known for the scandal of his fourth marriage, for which he was expelled from communion by the patriarch.[49]

Between the spread of the copying movement and the continuation of the encyclopedism movement in the ninth and tenth centuries, it is clear that preservation and renewal of literary culture, education, and intellectual pursuits were pervasive concerns in the capital at this time. In the mid-tenth century under the emperor Constantine VII (913–959; sole rule 945–959) encyclopedism was applied to the recording of court and military documents and protocol. Efforts to situate the current Macedonian dynasty of rulers in the whole span of history were also expended. *De ceremoniis*, or *On the Ceremonies*, also called *The Book of Ceremonies*, is the most famous example of this type of court writing.[50] This collection of prescriptive essays on court and religious ceremonies, some dating back to Justinian I and before, reveals the emperor's overriding concern for appearances. His attention was focused on demonstrating through precise movements and utterances the orderly existence and shape of life surrounding God's ordained representatives on earth. This included the hierarchy of court officials, and the role of the emperor and those surrounding him, at commemorations celebrated throughout the year.[51] Such a reality is best represented by his descriptions of processions, liturgical practices on feast days, acclamations, and imperial liturgies comparable to those centered on the great church of Hagia Sophia

recorded in the *Typikon of the Great Church*. Systematic and precise in its prescriptions, *De ceremoniis* might be considered the palace's response to the liturgies outlined in the *Typikon of the Great Church*.

Other major treatises that survive from this time are *De administrando imperio*, on governing the empire; *De thematibus*, on the themes, or military districts, of the empire and their diverse makeup; and military treatises on embassies and ambushes. In addition Constantine VII wrote or commissioned scientific works on veterinary science, zoology, and agriculture. The greatest loss is his "encyclopedia of human activity," a history that apparently was not copied, and so disappeared. Another important work compiled at this time is known as the history of Theophanes Continuatus.[52] It "continues" an earlier history by Theophanes the Confessor, beginning in the year 813 and continuing up to 961.[53] In the series of imperial biographies in this work, Book 5 stands alone, for it purports to be written by the emperor Constantine VII himself and takes the form of an encomium of his grandfather Basil I.[54]

To the mid-to-late tenth century belong three more important works, the *Greek Anthology*, the *Suda*, and the *Metaphrastian Menologium*. The *Greek Anthology* is a huge compilation of 3,700 epigrams in fifteen books, some of the most interesting for scholars today recording inscriptions in buildings that have long since been destroyed; the *Suda*, a lexicon in thirty thousand entries, is a cross between a dictionary and an encyclopedia; the *Metaphrastian Menologion* is a voluminous compilation and systematizing of accounts of saints' lives (vitae) arranged according to their celebrations in the church calendar. The menologion was widely adopted for both ecclesiastical and monastic use.[55] While the earliest menologia date from the ninth century, that of Symeon Metaphrastes, 150 texts in ten volumes, became standard after the late tenth century. These mark the final stage in the "age of encyclopedism."[56]

What determined the intensity and consistency of this movement of preservation and ordering? The impulse clearly originated in places of elite education and dedication to preservation of the past, which appears to have been the imperial palace, the patriarchate, and monasteries, libraries, or schools where the materials for compilation or copying were available. A preoccupation with the past became almost an obsession, and included every aspect of governance and outward signs of empire and Orthodoxy. From regulations for the silk dyers' guild to the myriad details of saints' lives, every scrap of received knowledge was encompassed by the movement. Whether the intellectual curiosity of scholars or imperial prerogative were the motivating forces is not as significant as the fact that it resulted in creating an image of an orderly, safe, well-managed, and comprehensible way of life and beliefs.[57] Given the strong impetus of this preservation and encyclopedism movement, it is easy to see why the arts also flourished at this time, including those reviving a classicizing style.

The conditions of the intellectual revival described above were clearly conducive to a resurgence in artistic production. The cultural revival, particularly of the arts, is known as the “Macedonian renaissance,” in spite of much discussion about the term.[58] Regardless, the movement left a lasting impression on the character and appearance of Byzantine art.[59] Cyril Mango, in a shrewd assessment of Byzantine creativity, notes that “Byzantine art followed very much the same line of development as Byzantine literature and, indeed, all other manifestations of Byzantine culture.”[60] In speaking of the revival of interest in the depiction of the human form and the humanistic approach to history writing, Romilly Jenkins also noted a “close connection between art and literature of each age.”[61]

The artistic evidence for this “renaissance” under the Macedonian Dynasty consists mainly of small, beautifully crafted objects, icons, and illuminated books. These survive disproportionately compared to monumental art, which was vulnerable to destruction by intent or simply by time and the elements, while smaller works of art eventually made their way from Byzantium to other countries, to the treasuries of churches and monasteries, and later into private collections, museums, and libraries. Most of those works appear to have originated in Constantinople, and represent a refined urban culture in their taste for the intricate, the precious, and the colorful. Workshops in which ancient skills were preserved produced objects in a variety of media such as metalworking, silver and goldsmithing, and enameling, all of which employed precious metals and encrustations in combination with jewels. Especially refined in style and virtuoso in technique are works in ivory, which were considered a luxury medium, partly because of the rarity of elephant ivory and the expense of importing it. In addition, great skill was required for its crafting and coloring. Layers of intrinsic value were combined through the application of gold, valuable pigments, and dyes over the surface of the ivory itself.[62] Textiles, some surprisingly well preserved today, exhibit the skill of weavers and dyers, and represent traditions introduced from Persia and further east in late antiquity. Ornate patterns were woven or embroidered into brightly colored fabrics, sometimes interwoven with metallic gold threads and studded with pearls and jewels. Preserved fragments of silks and woolens give abundant testimony of how hangings for the walls and doorways of buildings and ceremonial robes and insignia for ritual purposes must have appeared.

Most eloquent and well-studied among artifacts from this period are manuscripts with figural illustrations, some providing commentaries and visual exegeses to complement the argument of an author’s text.[63] A number of striking examples dating from the ninth and tenth centuries offer some indication of the post-iconoclastic fascination with the art form, and are now found in libraries and museums worldwide. Some illuminated manuscripts preserve Greek literary texts of antiquity, and may be associated with the scholarly movement of preservation discussed above. Others

are biblical and combine pages seemingly modeled on pre-iconoclastic illuminations, with illustrations composed de novo: psalters, Books of Kings, Joshua, and other books, including gospel books, and, in one case, an entire Bible. The most classicizing of these were produced around 940 to 950 in the hothouse atmosphere of the imperial court: the Paris Psalter (Paris Gr. 139), Joshua Roll (Vat. Palat. Gr. 431), and Bible of Leo Sakellarios (Vat. Reg. Gr. 1).[64] These luxury copies of texts have an intimacy, appeal, and richness illustrative of the Byzantine preoccupation with lavishing valuable materials and artistry on the page to accompany the written word. Yet others are new productions, such as compilations of saints' lives or Gospel lectionaries. These were commissions of emperors or an ecclesiastical elite, meant for use within the church or for display on the altar or in the palace. These spectacular books had appeal for symbolic reasons of status as well as pure aesthetic enjoyment.

In this brief characterization it is important to note that the shared aesthetic displayed by the precious arts had both social and religious implications, for the brilliantly colorful was often associated with the otherworldly or the divine. An icon or book therefore used the most saturated colors—vermillion red, ultramarine blue, malachite green—to depict the image of a saint or the world created by God.[65] Colors gave an object or image added value, for they were difficult to obtain and refine. The metaphysical and symbolic meaning attached to such objects meant they were more highly valued or more closely associated with the divine if they were sheathed in coatings of costly pigments and precious metals, primarily gold and gilded silver.

Gold was used extensively by the Byzantines in the production of luxury objects and works of art and architecture, from the pages of books to jewelry and other forms of personal adornment. Perhaps the most aesthetically powerful use of gold was in the tesserae used for the mosaics on the walls of churches, creating a visual impression of figures floating in an otherwordly space.[66] Vast expanses of the material applied to wall surfaces through mosaics represented the dominant aesthetic that gave special, even divine status to a rich environment sparkling with gold. Gold thread was woven into the most refined textiles. Gold leaf was overlaid on wooden panels for portraits of saints whose garments and haloes shone with striations of chrysography or surrounded them with fields of shimmering gold. Gold foil was applied to the surface of ivories, and gold leaf to the parchment of manuscripts of the Scriptures, heightening the splendor of images, initial letters, and ornament, and enhancing and imbuing with sanctity the written word itself.[67] Gold mosaics that combined gold tesserae with those of brilliant colors represented the highest symbolic and aesthetic achievement of the medium and were synonymous with Byzantine material culture of this time.[68]

Small-scale examples of this precious and brilliant aesthetic are so numerous that one need only open the catalogue of one of the recent exhibitions of Byzantine art, such as those at the Metropolitan

Museum of Art in New York, the Royal Academy of Arts in London, or the National Gallery in Washington, to experience the preponderantly sumptuous character of Byzantine production.[69] It is all the more important, therefore, to gain perspective regarding the relative scale and usership of these media. Objects and books were luxury items, which for the most part were seen and handled only by individual recipients or owners. Monumental art, however, was experienced by the entire population of Constantinople, by the court in a palace church or other ceremonial setting or the local people in monastic or urban churches around the empire. As we saw in Chapter 2, we must rely primarily on literary descriptions for a sense of the impact of large-scale, monumental art on Byzantine observers. Although Middle Byzantine churches were much smaller than those of the Early Byzantine period, they were still extremely costly to build, furnish, and decorate with mosaics. Display was akin to power, and those in power were expected to promote lavish display, as in the processions with liturgical objects, icons, and fabrics on view throughout the city on feast days and in the many churches around the city. In churches, this aesthetic was not reserved for a select few, but was conspicuously and publicly displayed, as it was intended to dazzle and awe the masses. The culture of the capital was one of display and colorful opulence beyond our imagining. Its intent was to connote the wealth and power of those directing the affairs of church and state, visible at every turn and leaving no doubt as to the source of authority.

In the second part of this chapter, three examples will serve as examples of the urban culture of Constantinople: an illuminated book, a poem, and a history. Each allows us to contextualize Byzantine mosaics in a different way when regarded as parallel or related forms of expression.

The *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus*, the best-known text by this revered fourth-century theologian and church father, was produced in a deluxe, illuminated edition in Constantinople between 879 and 882 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, codex graecus 510). This manuscript, commissioned by the patriarch Photius as a gift to the emperor Basil I and his family, has been analyzed and published by Leslie Brubaker.[70] The Paris Gregory, as it is called, is the only securely dated Byzantine manuscript to survive from the second half of the ninth century, and is the first known illustrated book produced for a Byzantine emperor. As such, it is a valuable representative of artistic expression in the elite setting of palace and patriarchate.

Gregory's forty-four sermons are reproduced in a large codex (43x30 cm; 465 folios) that is heavily ornamented and lavishly illustrated, with abundant color and gold leaf, both in figural illustrations and capital letters within the text passages, frames, and headpieces. Its forty-six full-page miniatures incorporate over four hundred scenes. The text is written in an archaic uncial script rather than the more economical minuscule. In other ways as well it is an anachronism as well as an anomaly. For example, it cannot be relied upon to reproduce iconographic schemes as encountered in other Middle Byzantine artworks,

but reveals an innovative approach to compositions. This does not mean, however, that one cannot recognize a style and aesthetic similar to those encountered in other manuscripts and media of the same period. The Paris Gregory is highly informative about the milieu that produced it.

Brubaker describes the Paris Gregory as "a private book, and its miniatures sometimes deliver personal messages," that is, messages addressed by the patriarch to the emperor.[71] Photius evidently seized this opportunity to introduce his views on secular versus ecclesiastical power, for the relationship between text and images is complementary rather than illustrative. The images often have their own agenda and relate to the text as a form of visual exegesis.[72] For example, the emperor Basil I is equated visually with Old Testament figures and with Constantine the Great through the choice and juxtaposition of images on given pages.[73] The sainted and revered Constantine I, after whom Basil named his first son, is promoted as the model and protector of the Macedonian dynasty. This must have appealed to Basil, for he restored many churches dedicated to Constantine. Constantine I and his mother, Helena, also appeared in mosaics installed during Basil's rule in the room at the south end of the west gallery of Hagia Sophia around 870 as part of a statement directed against the iconoclasts.[74] Photius, in his selection of themes and imagery, may be seen as catering to the interests of Basil.

Three divine patrons of Basil I are depicted in the frontispieces of the Paris Gregory: Christ, Gabriel, and Elijah, and these same patrons, in addition to the Virgin Mary and Saint Nicholas, were the five honorees in Basil's major commission of the Nea Ekklesia, or New Church, adjacent to the palace, dedicated in 880. Since the book and the church were created at the same time, this correlation comes as no surprise. The rift between Basil and Photius had resulted in the patriarch's expulsion and banishment in 867, and he was not reinstated until the death of Patriarch Ignatius in 878. Since the book was completed after Photius's return to favor, one may detect a conciliatory tone in the images that perhaps mollified the emperor and helped bring about their reconciliation. The miniatures respond to Basil's need for affirmation of the legitimacy of his own rule and of the Macedonian house he founded; they also subtly express Photius's support for Basil's pro-Orthodox, pro-imperial agenda. In the half century following Iconoclasm the role of images as vehicles for intercession, visual instruction, or political or religious commentary was expounded through illuminations in such books, and, one assumes, in monumental decoration as well. The way in which Photius accomplished his aims through the Paris Gregory can be demonstrated.

A page introducing Gregory's homily "To Julian the Tax Collector" (folio 137 recto), in three registers, serves as an example of the exegetical relationship between images and text. It shows, in the highest register, the Magi's Dream and Adoration of the Magi; the Flight of Elizabeth and Martyrdom of Zacharias, in the middle; and the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple, in the lowest (fig. 3.2). How do these scenes relate to the



Fig. 3.2. Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Cod. Gr. 510, fol. 137r, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: *A*. Adoration and Dream of the Magi; *B*. Massacre of the Innocents; Flight of Elizabeth and John the Baptist; Martyrdom of Zacharias; *C*. Presentation of Christ in the Temple. Courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

text of the homily on Julian the tax collector, and at the same time convey Photius's personal message to Basil? The sermon focuses on sacrifice and offering, but urges the official to "enroll my people in justice, in sanctity and benevolence." The miniatures refer to the events surrounding the birth of Christ, who was born during such an enrollment, the imperial census. Gregory makes the point that the people cannot duplicate the costly offerings of the Magi, and that spiritual offerings are more valuable than material ones. The Adoration of the Magi and Massacre of the Innocents are prominent events depicting the theme of sacrifice in the New Testament. The Presentation in the Temple also fits the theme

expressed in the registers above: the offering of the firstborn male child to God.[75]

Understanding, in a specific case, how the illustrations relate to the agenda of the manuscript's creator is important, for the page illustrates how images were selected to expand on the main ideas of the sermon without illustrating its content literally. In the lowest register depicting the Presentation in the Temple, gestures of figures echo those of the Magi of the Adoration, and of the holy family of the Massacre. The three registers are manipulated visually to express the parallels among all the scenes on the page.[76] An emphasis on family in the page under discussion suggests another connection, namely, to the legitimation of the Macedonian dynasty, which Photius was supporting. As Brubaker points out, Photius's own writings have strong connections with the miniatures, in interpreting the past in ways that connect visual memory with memory of the past. In this way he reinterprets the requisite images to fit his own personal reading of the Homilies in relation to the current ruler.[77]

Through an understanding of how Photius planned the imagery of Paris Gr. 510 to relate to his relationship to the emperor, the role of art can be seen as mediating and conveying political and religious agendas, both in a personal sense and as a way of legitimizing the ruler and his dynasty. The emphasis on images of Christ Enthroned in the Paris Gregory offers parallels with contemporary mosaics.[78] Photius has been connected with the mosaic of an enthroned Christ in the room above the southwest vestibule of Hagia Sophia,[79] as well as with the whole program of vault and wall decoration undertaken in Hagia Sophia starting with the apse mosaic dedicated in 867.

We can thus associate Photius's efforts to ingratiate himself with Basil I with a particular set of iconographic themes that appeared in figural art of the time, before and around the time he was removed from the patriarchate in 869–870.[80] Photius was not only the supervisor and coordinator of the production of Paris Gr. 510 but was also intimately involved in other major projects of architecture and decoration in Constantinople. His interest in the role of vision in expounding orthodox doctrine is expressed explicitly in his homilies, or sermons, on the mosaic of the Virgin and Child in the apse of Hagia Sophia, and the mosaics of the palace church of the Virgin of the Pharos, decorated in mosaics while Photius was patriarch under Michael III.[81] Contemporary images in books and in monumental decoration underscore the theological and political issues of the day.[82]

Evidence of a different kind of relationship between art and text exists for the next generation of Macedonian emperors. We turn now to a highly visible building, the Bath of Leo the Wise, and its contemporary poetic description. Commissioned by Basil I's son and successor to the throne, Leo VI (886–912), the building is known through a description contained in a long poem. It offers surprising revelations

about aspects of the cultural character of the renaissance of the time. This poem in anacreontic verse, a highly archaizing style, delivers an ekphrasis, or rhetorical description, of a building that once stood adjacent to the grounds of the imperial palace. Evoking the general appearance of the bath building itself and the sensory experience of the rituals performed at its dedication, the poem reveals the singular brand of classicism promoted by Leo.[83]

Written by Leo Choirosphaktes, probably for the *enkaenea*, or ceremonial dedication, of the bath, it comprises one hundred short lines of verse. The poem celebrated a building that incorporates in its scheme classical statues and reliefs, and an antique-inspired program of dome decoration, the focal point of which is a pair of portraits of the emperor and empress. The bath's location near the oikonomeion of the Nea Ekklesia, and between the Nea and the church of the Monastery of Saint Lazaros, is also significant, as it responds to both of these, the dynastic church built by Basil I and the monastery built by Leo VI himself, through the allegorical meanings of its figural imagery.[84]

As is characteristic of ekphrasis, the poem refers as much to the impression made by the event as to the building itself and its physical setting. The effect was mesmerizing. The sounds of music and sight of the musical instruments contribute to the spectacle; water has its own melody, and the tinkling of metal objects such as the golden leaves of the tree in the poem or the "artfully contrived" sound made by the doors, all are intermingled with the songs praising the emperor. Lighting effects and the impression made by the illuminated building at night, combined with the drama of shining and reflecting surfaces in flame-like movement around the viewer, make an even more striking impression when the Byzantine symbolism of light is considered.[85] The heat of the water and the rising steam, with their connotations of healing and renewal, correspond with the symbolic power of the emperor who mystically heals the city and the empire. The "wonder" and the "awesome sight," as well as appeals to the other senses, are insistent themes of the poem, as also encountered in other examples of classicizing ekphrasis.[86] It is more difficult to imagine the layout of the bath's mosaic decoration from the poem's description of the vaults and dome:

> See especially the sight of the earth-ruler on the proconch, wearing a rosy appearance, and holding a sword in his hands. From there the empress in turn throws out the beauty of petals, in her sweet face wearing a rosy appearance. . . . After this scene, he has drawn the forms of rivers, with fiercely-turned faces, and inscribed metrical encomia. . . . You will see the catching of fish with rod, net and reel; on every island you will behold a delightful spread. (Lines 33–54)[87]

The figural mosaics of the interior, from portraits of the rulers in the conch of the apse to the fishermen, appear at first to have secular

meanings, as in a delightful Nilotic landscape, but can be extrapolated to be a statement about the cosmic rulership of Leo VI and a reflection of the rituals affirming his wisdom and authority that were enacted at the bath. Portraits of Leo and his wife, Zoe Karbounopsina, leave no doubt as to the imperial theme underlying the whole program. The poem's allusion to inscriptions shows that there was some indication of the program's intended meaning inscribed on the building; but this would have been excluded from the poem to avoid repetition of what was apparent to viewers. The imagery of river gods, among other aquatic subjects (fishermen, waterside banquets), when interpreted in Christian symbolic terms, becomes an allusion to the Rivers of Paradise, which in turn symbolize the Four Evangelists.[88] Animal, bird, and tree imagery then takes on double meanings as secular or Christian attributes associated with the emperor and empress; the griffin at the apex of the vault symbolizes elevation from earth to heaven while simultaneously evoking the dynasty's devotion to the prophet Elijah.[89]

The mosaic program is in fact an allegory of imperial rule. It is not unlike the Royal Palace floor mosaic, including references to the season of renewal, spring, with its ancient festival of the Rosalia at which the birthday of Constantinople (May 11) is celebrated.[90] This was also the time when the dedications of the new bath building and its two neighboring churches were celebrated, on May 1 and May 4, respectively.[91] The poem honoring Leo redefines the entire bath complex in terms of his rule, and synthesizes his particular ideological views with the classicizing currents of the mature Macedonian renaissance. The revival of an antique form (the bath) and its imagery, and also the archaizing style of the poem itself, celebrated in a season of renewal(s), affirms the desire to evoke all manner of classicizing precedents for the Macedonian dynasty. The revival represented by the bath served as a visual statement of imperial ideology and renewal.[92]

The novelty and daring of Leo's bath and its unconventional use of classical imagery emphasize the ideological and cultural power of mosaics as a mode of communication. Leo apparently also conformed to more traditional expressions of imperial piety, for he built at least nine churches and monasteries in and around Constantinople, none of which survive, but whose names were recorded (see Appendix III). We can assume they too were decorated with mosaics, and likely included variations on the Middle Byzantine scheme of mosaic decoration.

With our third example of a cultural phenomenon characterizing the mature Macedonian humanistic revival, we turn to another written work: a history. In 944, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913–959) usurped power from his father-in-law, Romanus I Lecapenus (920–944), after being relegated to a secondary role by him for over thirty years. As a patron of the arts, Constantine commissioned a history, or rather a series of biographies, of emperors from 813 to the present; it was later extended to 961, and became known as Theophanes Continuatus, or

Scriptores post Theophanem, mentioned above.[93] Books 1–4 encompass the rules of Leo V to Michael III (813–867). Book 5, known as the *Vita Basilii*, was probably written by Constantine VII himself, between 945 and his death in 959.[94] The vita eulogizes the deeds of his grandfather Basil I (867–886), with special emphasis on his ambitious building program (chs. 78–94). It is written in the manner of an ancient panegyric of the Augustan period.[95] With Book 5 of Theophanes Continuatus we return to the deeds of the first Macedonian emperor, Basil I, but presented from the perspective of the mid-tenth-century phase of the renaissance and the fourth generation of Macedonian rule.

Chapters 78–94 of the *Vita Basilii* serve as a descriptive catalogue of the churches that were repaired or rebuilt under the rule of Basil I.[96] Fifty-four building projects, including forty churches, are listed, along with short descriptions identifying the dedication, location, and nature or extent of the work (see Appendix IV). Seven of the churches described are located within the Imperial Palace. Basil's most famous church, the Nea Ekklesia, adjoined the palace to the east and occupies the longest section of the description, chapters 83–86. The catalogue of buildings in the *Vita Basilii* serves as an encomium of Basil I, depicting him as the ideal ruler in the manner of hagiography. It is a dynastic eulogy with a pronounced political and ideological agenda, for the list of buildings has moral overtones as well as strictly historical ones. The emperor is depicted not only as a great builder but as a pious builder, on the model of great emperors of the past such a Justinian I and Constantine I.[97] The author interjects near the midpoint of the catalogue:

> By the extravagance and abundance of their precious materials, the novelty of their form, and the magnificence of their plans, these structures give an intimation of our emperor's magnanimity and love of beauty. (90.12–16)[98]

Then, at the end of the catalogue, he states:

> Such a man was Basil of blessed memory, the glorious one among emperors, when it came to holy shrines and to their care and repair, activities that are a hallmark of piety toward the Godhead. (94.27–29)[99]

The image of the pious emperor is that of a church-building emperor—a theme also encountered in an earlier work.

Another catalogue of the works of a builder-emperor comes to mind. *De Aedificiis*, or *On the Buildings*, written by the great historian Procopius ca. 559–560, is a panegyric of the emperor Justinian I (527–565). Of its six books, the first concerns building projects in Constantinople and its environs, in chapters i–xi.[100] The well-known ekphrasis of the newly rebuilt Hagia Sophia occupies the first chapter, while another forty-eight buildings, including thirty-six churches, are described in the following

chapters (see Appendix V). This precedent bears consideration in relation to the *Vita Basilii*, not only because of the similar number of buildings involved in each case and the overlap in many of the structures built and/or rehabilitated by the two emperors, but also for its implications about a preoccupation of the Macedonian dynasty. The parallelism sheds light on the role of church-building in relation to dynasty building.

Constantine VII's focus on his grandfather's church-building in chapters 78–94 of the *Vita Basilii* emphasizes church-building as critically important for the success of the Macedonian dynasty. Constantine VII himself made additions to the palace and sponsored buildings around the city, as had his father-in-law, Romanus I, and father, Leo VI, before him. Most of these were churches, in keeping with the pious duty of the ruler or (especially) of usurpers. Let us recall that the surviving Myrelaion church, discussed in Chapter 2, was built by Romanus I.[101] Constantine VII's elaboration on the very great number of churches, however, must have further implications. In the *Vita Basilii*, he mentions that his grandfather built "about one hundred other churches" besides those enumerated (*Vita Basilii* 93.24–25). Procopius claims that "all the other shrines which this emperor [Justinian] dedicated to Christ are so numerous and so great in size that it is impossible to write about them in detail" (*On the Buildings* 1.2.18). Part of the strength of the rhetorical claim about Basil's deeds is their connection to the past, in particular to the building programs of Justinian—and Constantine I before him.[102] Constantine VII knew Procopius's *On the Buildings* and, I would suggest, constructed his own literary parallel on behalf of his grandfather and the Macedonian dynasty.

Church-building sent a clear message to the inner circle of the court as well as to the wider public, a message that involved more than the show of great wealth applied to such endeavors. After Justinian's decree that church-building was an imperial prerogative, perhaps as a response to the sumptuous church of Hagios Polyeuktos built by Anicia Juliana ca. 524–527, they became more symbolic of imperial prestige and divine sanction.[103] Church-building had been for Anicia Juliana, too, a way of proclaiming her genealogical descent from the emperor Constantine I, as is clearly stated in the epigram in her church of Hagios Polyeuktos.[104] Not only was church-building a symbolic activity reserved largely for the emperor, but also, in a more practical sense, churches served as expressions and reminders of the continuity of imperial rule alongside the Divine Liturgy. Their structures and decoration in mosaics were associated with imperial patronage, the costliest undertakings possible in the service of the ruler. They were identified with both the ruler and the imperial house as symbols of divinely sponsored power. An important part of the mission of a ruling dynasty was the sponsorship of churches, which in turn expressed that dynasty's relationship to the holy through the medium of mosaics.

Basil, with the help of the patriarch Photius, expressed through mosaics his connection to the first ruler of Byzantium, Constantine the Great. The cult of Constantine and Helena, and the related cult of the True Cross, flourished in the seventh to tenth centuries. The combined image of all three (see, for example, fig. 1.24), or of the Victorious Cross alone, had major implications for the ruling dynasty, especially during the reign of Basil I.[105] Efforts by Basil I to construct a connection between himself and Constantine I are well known, including naming his first son Constantine. When Constantine died as a child, his burial was in the Mausoleum of Constantine at the Church of the Holy Apostles. Special veneration of Constantine I in the capital is demonstrated by Basil's construction of a Church of Saint Constantine and the Theotokos at the Column of Constantine. In the *Vita Basilii*, 91.14–16, Basil's sponsorship of a Church of Saint Constantine, and in 93.5–9, of the Theotokos in the Forum of Constantine, is mentioned, along with acts of commemoration that would have associated him with both the first Christian emperor and the founding of the city.[106] In addition, the great number of churches listed in the *Vita Basilii* that had been founded by Constantine I and repaired or rebuilt under Basil I seem a clear indication of part of the latter's intentions. An image of the dynasty's legitimacy and of Basil's divinely sanctioned rule resided in the presence throughout the city of churches built by him, or by his revered predecessors and then rebuilt or repaired by him. Here were monumental symbols of his dynasty's continuity with the past. One church, however, he built de novo as a symbol of another kind.

Basil's most ambitious church, the Nea Ekklesia, described at length (*Vita Basilii*, 83–86), conveys a singular message through its unusual dedication, design, and decoration.[107] Dedicated in 880, and built entirely anew, it was unlike any other church in the city and was not technically part of the palace, but instead functioned as a private and personal foundation dedicated to his and his dynasty's divine protectors: Christ, Elijah, Gabriel, the Virgin Mary, and Saint Nicholas (*Vita Basilii*, 83). The church was symbolically linked, through the ceremony commemorating its founding on May 1, with the commemoration of the dedication of the city of Constantinople on May 11. Its name emphasizes the *renovatio*, or imitation of ancient institutions, that was at the core of Basil's agenda and building program.[108] The Nea has also been envisioned as a celebration of the partnership between Basil and Photius.[109] In its primary dedication to Old Testament types of Christ (Elijah) and emphasis on divinely sponsored kingship (Solomon, Constantine I), the Nea combined a new trend in private piety with a legitimizing political agenda.[110] A few details concerning the interior appearance of the Nea Ekklesia are known from the description in the *Vita Basilii*. It was a five-domed church with gold-ground mosaics and figural images inside the domes; the rest of the church had colorful, variegated marble revetments on the walls, floor, and templon barrier; the synthronon and altars were

fabricated with precious stones and other costly materials (*Vita Basilii* 83–84).[111] Some scholars surmise that it bore similarities to the later churches of Constantine Lips in Constantinople and Hagia Sophia in Kiev.[112] Unfortunately, Constantine gives few details about the mosaic decoration of the Nea.

More detailed descriptions are given in the *Vita Basilii* about the mosaics of the Kainourgion, an imperial audience hall within the palace. Its dome mosaics represent military victory scenes involving the emperor Basil and his generals, and the mosaics of the adjacent imperial bedchamber of the palace with its dynastic portraits retell a similar story of divinely ordained victory. The account offers more enthusiastic and descriptive language for architectural features, building materials, and content of the wall and vault mosaics, including rapturous descriptions of peacocks and eagles appearing in the floor mosaics (verses 89–90). Mosaics of churches as well as of palace buildings or other imperially sponsored projects expounded the ideology of a strong and united imperial house.[113] A century after Michael III's renovation of the Chrysotriklinos, this same throne room was further embellished by Constantine VII, turning it into "a blooming and sweet-smelling rose-garden by means of minute, variegated mosaic cubes imitating the colors of freshly opened flowers . . . altogether inimitable."[114] With the *Vita Basilii*, Constantine VII adopts the manner of Procopius's *On the Buildings* and the tradition of affirming the divine right of the builder-ruler through a panegyrical description of ecclesiastical and other buildings, in a conscious appropriation of the past.

In conclusion, we have seen how, within the urban culture of ninth- and tenth-century Constantinople, various factors and conditions contributed to create an ideal climate for the ultimate exploitation of mosaics as a medium of expression. Not only were the Arab frontiers stabilized militarily and a state of détente achieved in the Balkans, but the end of religious persecution during Iconoclasm allowed the church and state to rebuild a solid and mutually supportive relationship. Byzantine intellectual and philosophical roots, steeped in antiquity, were brought together in a humanistic movement of the consolidation of knowledge about the past and a new self-conscious pride of place and identity. All manner of artistic production took on renewed impetus from the sponsorship offered by the palace and a prosperous court elite.[115] At the center of this court initiative was the impulse to build, and in the process to reinforce the image of greatness and divine sanction of the ruling dynasty. Buildings such as the Bath of Leo I and the churches described in the *Vita Basilii* were conceived first and foremost as receptacles for decoration in mosaics announcing agendas concerned with power, wisdom, legitimacy, and protection.

The possibilities were unlimited, for the brilliant medium of gold mosaic could affirm visually and symbolically the most profound religious truths or the history of salvation. One might encounter a personal

vision of the past couched in the highly symbolic language of classical allegory and creature forms, as in the Bath of Leo VI. When functioning as the setting for the Divine Liturgy, the mosaiced church became fully alive, and the array of mosaic images acted as a reflection of the presence of the clergy, the faithful, and, most important, the actual or implied presence of the emperor. The proliferation of saints' images mirrored the encyclopedic collections of their lives so popular within the culture of the time; saints' images seen in conjunction with those of Christ and the Virgin echoed the belief in their protection of the imperial house and the empire. The church also contained, literally, the highest expression of unmitigated display of precious objects: the ornate robes of celebrants, clouds of fragrant incense, church silver, gilded and jeweled crosses, and silk hangings—all assembled to render the church fitting to be God's dwelling on earth.

More than any other individual, the patriarch Photius seems to have left his mark, even before the founding of the Macedonian dynasty. He likely had a hand in conceiving the program of mosaics of the Chrysotriklinos and the Pharos church, under Michael III in the 860s and 870s. He likely oversaw the installation of a new program of mosaics in Hagia Sophia—and perhaps in the Church of the Holy Apostles—in the 860s and early 870s. He continued to mediate political and religious affairs after being recalled from exile in around 873, as seen in exegetical imagery in the Paris Gregory of 879–882.[116] The learned patriarch and his imperial counterparts, first Michael III and then Basil I, were behind the genesis of churches and church decorations that expressed both aesthetic values and transcendent ideas of the linkage between God's earthly and heavenly kingdoms. The solution to the problem of how to disseminate the message of an orderly cosmos under the vigilance of God, whose earthly representative was the emperor, seems to have been understood. For this vision was so successfully propounded by successive emperors of the Macedonian dynasty that it remained the norm for church decoration for the next five hundred years and beyond. The living, moving counterparts of the stylized figures of saints and bishops in the mosaics of Constantinople were the liturgical processions that ritually linked the Byzantines to their saints and their city—to which we turn in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

FEASTING THE SAINTS

THE SANCTORAL TOPOGRAPHY OF CONSTANTINOPLE

THAT SAINTS PLAYED an active role in the Byzantine imagination and belief system is illustrated by rich and abundant evidence.[1] Surviving imagery on icons and in manuscripts, monumental decoration, literary testimonials in saints' vitae and ceremonial descriptions, and recorded dedications of lost and surviving monuments—not to mention Greek Orthodox liturgy and commemorative observances—all support this observation. If we read this evidence correctly, we see embedded within the culture of medieval Byzantium a tendency to define oneself and one's surroundings through the omnipresence of saints. As Paul Magdalino has observed:

> The cult of the saints was central to Byzantine religious Orthodoxy. . . . The cult had a profoundly eschatological dimension, not only in invoking the intercession of the saints but also in providing the guarantee that the regime under which Christians were living was the kingdom of Christ and the saints.[2]

Every part of the empire, but especially the capital city and its environs, was in some way associated with places where saints and their relics and icons, and artifacts connected with them held positions of honor and were venerated. In this chapter I explore one aspect of this phenomenon: the liturgical processions honoring the saints that engaged this sanctoral topography and were constantly enacted across the urban

landscape of Constantinople.[3] Let us first situate this chapter in relation to the previous ones.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the surviving mosaic and fresco decoration of tenth- and eleventh-century Byzantine churches in Greece and Cappadocia in Turkey includes not only a selection of narrative scenes and dogmatic images but also a disproportionately large number of saints' portraits, a feature that has not been adequately addressed by scholars. These are portraits of individual saints, shown either full-length or in bust form, in roundels or lunettes, with their names inscribed. Saints were included in the decoration of pre-iconoclastic churches, but to our knowledge never to this extent. The evidence for the origins of this scheme of church decoration, especially as applied to the centrally planned domed church, points to Constantinople in the period following Iconoclasm. In Chapter 2, archaeological and literary evidence for the lost post-iconoclastic churches of Constantinople reveals the simultaneous adoption of a new, compact church design and a hierarchical system of interior decoration that perfectly harmonizes with it. The initiative behind this decorative system came from the imperial house, and its medium of expression par excellence was mosaics. The numbers of churches built or renovated at this time is staggering, especially in view of their cost. Some buildings embellished with mosaics were located within the Imperial Palace, while others, mostly monastic churches, were at locations throughout or close to the city. The evolution of the new mosaic program can best be visualized through surviving frescoes of Cappadocia and the mosaiced churches of Greece. Both prioritize images of individual saints.

As noted in Chapter 3, a culture of consolidation, revision, and copying of all kinds of literature prevailed in ninth- and tenth-century Byzantium, the period of the Macedonian dynasty, and before. This "renaissance" included an encyclopedic movement in which the systematizing of saints' lives in the form of synaxaria and menologia was a part. Seemingly echoing this comprehensive and orderly "encyclopedic" system, mosaics depicting the saints are organized by category on the walls and vaults of churches, evoking the order and clarity of the cosmos under God and his earthly cohort, the emperor. Imperial initiative and the guidance of the patriarch Photius, in particular, appear to have been instrumental in conceptualizing the mosaic programs of the Middle Byzantine church.

In what follows, we continue to build on the preceding chapters, in asking what forms of commemoration and veneration reflected beliefs about the role of the saints. As I maintain, without knowledge of public practices, the role of the mosaiced church within Byzantine culture remains elusive to us. We must consider public involvement in practices affirming the empire's relationship to the saints and their protection: the ritual processions that were a constant presence on the civic landscape. It is difficult to imagine these demonstrations of public piety,

encompassing not the elite of the imperial court hidden behind the walls of the Palace but crowds of people, engaged in actions that are seemingly irretrievable. However, the evidence for processions is indeed accessible through records and descriptions. One can even retrace ancient processional routes through the contemporary city. It is still possible to evoke some of the most spectacular shows of public piety in Christendom, the ritual processions of Constantinople.

The *Typikon of the Great Church*, compiled in the tenth century, mentioned in the preceding chapter, provides short notices or biographies of saints in a calendrical arrangement reflecting their successive days of commemoration throughout the year. Individual entries describe the form of martyrdom of each saint along with indications of processions to the places in Constantinople where commemorations took place.[4] In connection with this category, another related type of document should be mentioned, the monastic typika. The preserved typika of Byzantine monasteries, regulatory documents governing practices of worship and commemoration, preserve precious evidence of life at these monasteries that otherwise disappeared long ago.[5]

The so-called *Menologium of Basil II*, Vat. Gr. 1613, copied sometime after 979, is the most famous example of a synaxarium because of its sumptuous illustrations. This imperially sponsored edition includes over four hundred framed images, mostly illustrating saints' martyrdoms. Also shown are translations of relics and liturgical processions depicted in conjunction with stylized buildings, isolated architectural elements, and interior church settings. A number of Christological scenes appear as well.[6] Synaxaria and menologia were compiled for liturgical use in the ninth and tenth centuries, with some exemplars being illustrated. Images of saints also proliferated in monumental decoration around the time these encyclopedic collections of saints' lives were created, although the precise relationship between the two phenomena is unclear.

Important products of the encyclopedic movement, the *Book of Ceremonies*, of the mid-tenth century, and the *Typikon of the Great Church*, dating to sometime after 878, preserve details of accounts of liturgical and ceremonial practice throughout the year. Processions described in the *Book of Ceremonies* belonged to imperial protocol, and often took place within the palace, while those described in the *Typikon* apply mainly to the cathedral church of Hagia Sophia and the processions moving from palace to church.[7] These two works designate numerous sites visited by processions on feast days of the saints and mention the presence of relics, as well as the locations of stations, or stopping points, along the routes. Considering these routes in relation to the medieval topography of the city, it is possible to map, or follow on a modern map, patterns of processional movement through the city. Using these prescribed routes, the citizenry would "visit" the saints.

A comprehensive idea of the large number of recorded religious foundations can be gleaned from the combined indications in menologia,

synaxaria, typika, and vitae, as the invaluable research of Raymond Janin has shown.[8] A plan of medieval Constantinople indicates locations of twenty-three named sites mentioned in the sources.[9] The locations of the vast majority of churches and shrines recorded by Janin, however, are unknown. The best idea we can derive of a nunnery's location is often vague—for example, that "it is near the cistern of Aspar," as mentioned in one saint's vita. The *Book of Ceremonies* and *Typikon of the Great Church* not only provide itineraries but also mention details of costume, utterances such as acclamations, musical tones used, ceremonial settings for these processions, locations of ritual dining, and the extent of participation of the emperor, court, patriarch, or clergy. An examination of these literary sources offers an idea of how the saints' written lives, the locations of their relics and shrines, and ritual processions were linked across the landscape of the capital. Quantitative analysis of ceremonial processions, juxtaposed with the indexed iconographic content of surviving church decoration, reveals the relationship between Constantinopolitan liturgical practice and the rich repertoire of saints' portraits in art.[10] Revisiting the landscape of processional practice is aided by a visual imagination.

Processional routes traversed the landscape of the ancient town of Byzantion from before the time of its refounding and renaming by the Christian Roman emperor Constantine I in the year 330.[11] In late antiquity, these thoroughfares continued in use as the city gradually expanded under Constantine's son, Constantius II, and then his successors, the Theodosian dynasty and Justinian I. From at least the early fourth century, a processional way led from the triumphal arch known as the Golden Gate, later incorporated in the walls of Theodosius II, to the Milion in the heart of the city. The main function of this thoroughfare was to celebrate triumphs, or victory parades, after a military campaign.[12] Franz Alto Bauer asserts that the streets and monuments of Constantinople were laid out with ritual "possession-taking" by rulers in mind.[13] Over time, an increasing number of monumental landmarks appeared along this middle street, or Mese: the imperial fora with their arches, triumphal columns, and public buildings. Statues and monuments were added throughout the city, until a huge collection was amassed.[14] Gradually more churches and shrines honoring saints sprang up, as the city was transformed from a primarily imperial space to a more liturgical and religious one.[15] Albrecht Berger's study of the urban design of early Constantinople shows a series of grids or intersecting main streets, as well as secondary streets crossing the Mese at various angles and intervals. It is clear, however, that from the outset and throughout the medieval period, the Mese with its main branches served as the principal route for ceremonial processions. Not only was circulation through the city facilitated by the Mese, but a network of secondary streets also gave access to sites and shrines located nearby. From early times, there were also avenues running along the shores of

the Golden Horn and Sea of Marmora, and these too served processional functions.[16] Streets terminating at gates in the sea walls facilitated access to some shrines by boat, as with the Cosmidion, Hebdomon, Blachernai, Studion, and Pege monasteries.

Many ancient landmarks were incorporated into medieval processional routes, including the Golden Gate, Exakionion, Capitol, Forum Tauri, Forum of Constantine, Hippodrome, and Milion (see plan, fig. 4.1). Starting at the arch of the Milion, the milepost from which distances to points around the empire were measured, and running west, the Mese passed through the Forum of Constantine and divided at the Capitol or Philadelphion. One branch then ran northwest past the Church of the Holy Apostles to the Adrianople Gate in the walls, and the other ran in a westerly direction out to the Golden Gate and the Via Egnatia leading to Rome.[17] A major portion of this avenue system had columned porticoes from the fifth century on, similar to those that can still be seen along the streets of ancient Ephesus on the coast of Asia Minor. These covered porticoes provided protection from the weather and afforded processions a traversable route in all seasons and conditions.[18] The majority of medieval processions used the section of the Mese that ran between the Church of Hagia Sophia and the Forum of Constantine.[19]

The development of the sacred topography of the medieval city can be traced with reference to the wide zone of holy sites visited by major and minor processions, including the Pege, Blachernai, and Hebdomon monasteries located outside or close to the walls to the west, as seen on the plan in fig. 4.1. The symbolic protective shield circumscribed by these rituals and sites reflects popular belief in Christ, the Virgin Mary, and saints as protectors and defenders of the imperial house and city. As Baldovin notes:

> Churches, shrines and the yearly calendar of feasts, fasts and commemorations provided the raw material of the ritualized identity of Constantinopolitan culture; the living expression of this identity was the stational liturgy. . . . The city itself became a church, a locus for enactment of events defining the religious identity of the populace.[20]

What was initially a processional route for the triumphal display of the emperor and the spoils of his military successes became in the medieval period a well-trodden thoroughfare for liturgical processions in displays of ceremonial pomp and popular piety.[21] Such practices and beliefs increasingly Christianized the city. In the stational nature of the liturgies, the city functioned somewhat like a church. Along and near these routes, churches were founded to accommodate the growing numbers of saints' relics.

From the Constantinian era on, the process of church building was parallel to that of the collection of relics.[22] The first cathedral church of the city, Hagia Irene, had existed before Constantine I enlarged it.

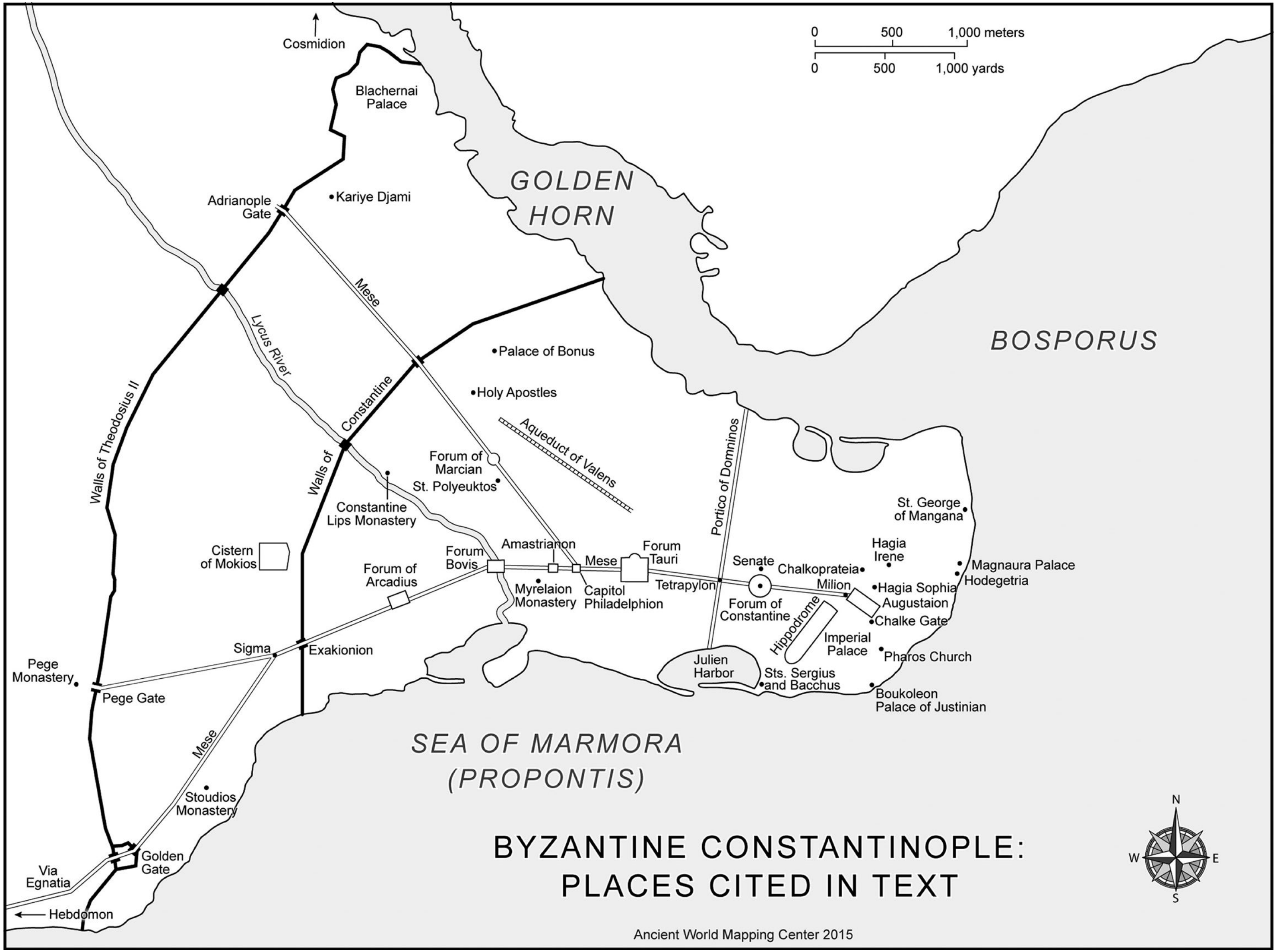


Fig. 4.1. Plan of Constantinople, showing Mese and principal streets and monuments on processional routes. Ancient World Mapping Center, 2015, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Two churches dedicated to local martyrs, Saint Mokios and Saint Akakios, were purportedly built either under Constantine I (324–337) or slightly later at the time when the city was in its early stages of being Christianized.[23] Constantine constructed his own domed mausoleum. Later in the fourth century his son Constantius II built adjacent to it the Church of the Holy Apostles, which would become one of the most regularly visited ecclesiastical sites in the city when the relics of three of the apostles, Timothy, Luke, and Andrew, were assembled there. Also under Constantius II, Hagia Sophia was built as the patriarchal church of the city, followed in the next century by three major churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary, the churches of the Theotokos of the Chalkoprateia, Blachernai, and Pege. The Chalkoprateia housed the sacred relic of the belt, or *zone*, of the Virgin, and the Blachernai her robe, or *maphorion*. Over time, the tombs of the patriarchs of Constantinople were located in churches or chapels throughout the city, forming a substantial number of those sites venerated in processions.[24] The relics of saints with no connection whatsoever to Constantinople were also collected from around the empire, in the process known as "translation." These were then celebrated as "residing" in the city at the churches dedicated in their honor, gradually making it the greatest receptacle of relics in the Christian world.[25]

As we learn from the *Book of Ceremonies* and *Typikon of the Great Church*, many of the same landmarks and routes traversed in late antiquity also entered into liturgical processions in the medieval period. In both of these sources there are constant references to ceremonies and processions that halted or terminated at particular churches, including mention of the relics of the saint or objects associated with saints that were located there.[26] Sometimes the liturgy was celebrated in a simple fashion, as, for example, on Saint Thecla's feast day, as recorded in the *Typikon of the Great Church*:

> September 24: The Holy Martyr and Apostle, Saint Thecla. The synaxis takes place at her martyrion, the church of St. Thecla, which is found in the district of Krithopoleia [near the Julien Harbor]. The procession, as is customary, goes to the Forum, and after having addressed the habitual prayer, it proceeds to the sanctuary of the saint.[27]

The words to the sung prayer, or troparion, and tonal mode are also specified:

> You who became a disciple, by the word of St. Paul, O spouse of God, who was firm in faith, O elect of God, you were the first martyr, victorious among women; you entered the fire without being singed by the flames; savage beasts and bulls, thanks to the sign of the Cross, spared you. Pray, O illustrious one, for the salvation of our souls.[28]

Then another short troparion was sung, and a half dozen short verses and alleluias; the Gospel reading of the day is Matthew 25:1–13.

The procession to the church of Saint Thecla went from Hagia Sophia to the Forum of Constantine, and then via the tetrapylon and the southern branch of the Embolos tou Domninou, or main north-south street, to the church dedicated to the saint, located near the Julien Harbor. There the Eucharist was celebrated (for the principal landmarks on this route, see fig. 4.1). This short account of a procession is the standard type for a saint's feast day as found in the *Typikon of the Great Church*, which describes approximately sixty-eight processions to forty-six different churches or shrines dedicated to saints. Some churches, such as the Holy Apostles and the churches of the Virgin of Chalkoprateia and Blachernai, are visited by multiple processions. Our other major source on processions is the *Book of Ceremonies*.

On ten major feasts mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies*, the liturgy was celebrated within the Great Palace with the participation of the emperor.[29] On nine occasions, the emperor went from the palace to Hagia Sophia, with greater or lesser ceremony;[30] seventeen processions were celebrated with the participation of the emperor that terminated with the Eucharist at an urban church outside the palace.[31] These were churches dedicated to saints such as the Forty Martyrs, Cosmas and Damian, Constantine, Panteleimon, John the Baptist of Stoudios, John the Theologian, Mokios, and Holy Apostles. Other major shrines were visited repeatedly or used as stations along the route. All of these possessed objects or relics related to the saint or saints of the dedication: Chalkoprateia, Pege, Blachernai, Holy Apostles, and Polyeuktos. The presence of relics or sacred objects associated with the saints gave these processions a purpose and signification, and the emperor would leave his palace to honor them on the requisite feast days.

An extraordinary collection of relics was housed in churches and chapels built within the Imperial Palace, and these acquired imperial connotations, from the wood of the True Cross, brought from Jerusalem by Saint Helena, to the staff of Moses. They were visited regularly by processions of the emperor along with the imperial court and senate, moving through the corridors and passages of the palace. From the fourth century on, imperial initiative was behind the acquisition of relics, making them powerful symbols for imperial ideology. The emperor's cult in Constantinople mingled with that of the saints he sponsored, as an expression of both his victorious status and his piety.[32] Two important relics in the Imperial Palace, the arm of Saint Stephen, acquired in the fifth century, and the arm of Saint John the Baptist,[33] acquired in the tenth, were seen as guaranteeing divine approval of those who possessed them. Warrior saints took on special prominence as the supernatural defenders of the emperor and his armies, and were divided into major and minor saints.[34] The warrior saint Theodore Stratelates was particularly popular in imperial ideology, and a chapel dedicated to him

was located adjacent to the Chrysotriklinos in the palace; precious relics in this church of Saint Theodore included the staff of Moses, and it was a stop included in numerous processions.[35] The palace's most magnificent church, the Virgin of the Pharos, was built as a "palace for the Theotokos on earth," and was both a treasure house for relics and a center of imperial ceremonial.[36] From the tenth century it was the receptacle for the relics of the Passion, the Cross of Constantine, and the Mandylion, as well as the arm of Saint John the Baptist, all of which were associated in various ways with imperial victory.[37] The presence of all these relics endowed the city with religious potency analogous to that of Rome or Jerusalem. It is said that there were 3,600 relics for 476 saints housed in Constantinople.[38] Let us look more closely at the processional routes through the city that connected many of these relics to one another.

The principal ritual stations of medieval Constantinople were a group of monuments and sites along the ancient Mese, as noted earlier. Although triumphs after military victories in the ancient Roman mode continued into the twelfth century, the addition of imperial monuments along this route only lasted until the erection of Justinian's column in the Augustaeum in the sixth century.[39] The processions halted at designated places for acclamations; many of these points along the old Triumphal Way can actually be located along the streets of modern Istanbul.[40] Liturgical processions through the city stopped at or passed near the principal ecclesiastical foundations of the churches of Saint Mokios, Saint Onesimos, Saint John the Baptist of Stoudios, Saints Cosmas and Damian, Saint Polyeuktos, Saint Euphemia of Olybrios, the Church of the Holy Apostles, and Theotokos of the Diaconissa, Saint Panteleimon, Saint Stephen of Constantinianae, and the Church of the Virgin built at the foot of the Column in Constantine's Forum by Basil I. The major churches of Hagia Sophia, Hagia Irene, and the Chalkoprateia were close to the Milion and the Chalke Gate of the Imperial Palace at the east end of the route, where a monumental mosaic image of Christ in the arch over the gate served no doubt as a marker for processions. Some processions circulated between the palace and sites within or outside of the city walls, as in processions to the Hebdomon, seven miles west of the city, or Pege shrine just outside the Silivri Gate, while others stayed entirely within the sprawling Imperial Palace. In some cases processions required transportation by boat, and made their way to a sea gate of the palace, or a port on the Golden Horn, as mentioned above. Others were accomplished by the emperor on horseback, depending on the weather.[41]

The ancient Triumphal Way (Mese) was used for processions continuously throughout Byzantine history, with the squares and monuments dedicated to successive emperors of Late Antiquity "competing" with the churches and monasteries along or near the route, resulting in a dense populating of the cityscape along the route with civic and religious monuments and foundations. In the one hundred and fifty years between Constantine I (306–337) and the reign of Leo I (457–74), the

building of a succession of squares with triumphal columns surmounted by statues followed one another: Forum Tauri, or Forum of Theodosius I (378–395), Forum Bovis, Amastrianos, Forum of Arcadius (405–8), Sigma, Forum of Theodosius II (408–50), Forum of Marcian (450–57), and, finally, Forum of Leo I (457–74).[42] All of these were on or near a segment of the Mese, with the exception of Leo I's forum and the Goth's Column, on Seraglio Point, and crowned the highest points in the city. Emperors' statues located atop columns in their fora were thus easily visible throughout the city, and served as points of reference for ceremonial usage by the population.

While the ceremonial processions that traversed these civic spaces were filled with elaborate and symbolic court protocol, as recorded in the *Book of Ceremonies*, they were witnessed as spectacles by the masses of citizenry.[43] Ceremonies of accession, for example, started outside the city at the Hebdomon. The new emperor proceeded through the Golden Gate and into the city via the Mese to the Forum of Constantine, and from there to the Church of Hagia Sophia, where he was crowned. A reception was then held in the palace, followed by a banquet; a later version included a proclamation in the hippodrome, and was accompanied by acclamations of the populace. The urban landscape of Constantinople was traversed constantly by court, emperor, and populace as these moving rituals were enacted in stages, with stops and starts at ancient monuments reflecting the city's Roman or early Christian past. The very fabric of Constantinople acted as a stage setting for ceremonial processions.[44]

The most ancient landmark on the processional way was Constantine's Forum, which had at its center the Porphyry Column containing the Palladium of Troy and Christian relics, including pieces of the True Cross, and surmounted by a statue of Constantine as Helios. The Palladium had been brought from Rome, and pieces of the True Cross from Jerusalem, symbolizing, among other things, the ties of the new capital to these great ancient cities. The Porphyry Column was the focus of imperial and civic cults from the time of the dedication of the city there on May 11, 330. Every year this memory was revived, and Constantine's role as a founder and as victorious over his enemies was commemorated, along with his famous conversion to Christianity.[45] Constantine was venerated as a saint by the Orthodox Church, and there were nine churches and monasteries dedicated to him around the city, at which special liturgies were held on his feast day, May 21.[46]

Expansion of the city within a new circuit of land and sea walls in 410 to 413 under Theodosius II meant there was more open space, for the area between the old Constantinian walls and the new Theodosian land walls was not nearly as densely populated as the center of the city. Six more fora were constructed, as mentioned above, along with palaces, baths, and squares.[47] Public areas now resembled Old Rome more and more, with its tituli and the close relationship between Imperial Palace, hippodrome, and Milion. Much of this civic space was soon

occupied by public, imperial, and ecclesiastical buildings; numerous monasteries were subsequently founded in suburban areas inside the Theodosian walls, with their own agricultural lands surrounding them. The Monastery of Saint John of Stoudios, founded in the fifth century, was one of the largest and most influential. The hub of public life was focused on the axes created by the branches of the Mese and its civic monuments, particularly the hippodrome, Forum of Constantine, and the principal church of the city and empire, Hagia Sophia.[48]

The Church of Hagia Sophia, or Great Church, was the religious focal point of the city (fig. 2.3). Founded under Constantius II and inaugurated in 360, it was built and rebuilt three times before taking its final and present form under Justinian in the mid-sixth century (532–537). It was the patriarch's cathedral as well as the public imperial church. The name Hagia Sophia (Holy Wisdom) was an epithet referring to the wisdom of Christ, and it shared this symbolic naming, according to an ancient principle, with two other Constantinopolitan churches dedicated to Holy Peace (Irene) and Holy Power (Dunamis).[49] The emperor's visibility at liturgies in Hagia Sophia was the religious equivalent to his secular position in the *kathisma*, or royal box, in the hippodrome at sports events.[50] After the Nika riots of 532, not only was Hagia Sophia rebuilt, but Justinian also reconfigured the entire core of the city, including the great square of the Augustaion, the Column of Justinian with his equestrian statue, and the entrance to the palace of the Chalke Gate, whose newly decorated vault exhibited mosaics showing Justinian and his generals victorious in battles with enemies.[51] A revived ceremonial function of this central portion of the city was the planned result of the rebuilding in the sixth century, which increasingly served as the culmination point of processions.[52]

Along with Hagia Sophia, the Church of the Holy Apostles was the other major public church in the city, and it too was rebuilt under Justinian, ca. 550. Even though the relics of only three of the apostles, Luke, Andrew, and Timothy, were contained in the altar, cenotaphs of the nine remaining apostles made it, in a symbolic sense, the repository of all twelve.[53] The adjacent Mausoleum of Constantine, and later a second mausoleum, continued as the burial places of Byzantine emperors into the Middle Byzantine period. In the tenth century the Holy Apostles complex attained even deeper symbolic significance when Constantine I, the "honorary apostle," was made the special patron of the Macedonian house. To express his own devotion to the emperor Constantine, Basil I named his first son Constantine, hoping to cement the analogy between Constantine's reign and his own.[54] Basil I refurbished this magnificent five-domed church, decorating it with a full program of mosaics. San Marco in Venice was later modeled on this church and its mosaic decoration. The two great public churches of Hagia Sophia and Holy Apostles were major centers of worship and ceremony in the city.

Also of prime importance for ceremonial processions were the three Marian churches: the Chalkoprateia, Blachernai, and Pege. Great numbers of foundations were dedicated to the Virgin Mary, or Theotokos, from the fifth century on. The largest number of church dedications were solely in her name, while others were dedicated jointly to both the Virgin and another, perhaps local, saint. Churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary did not hold relics—since there were no physical remains of her body after her Assumption—but instead held either icons or objects associated with her on earth. The monastery at Blachernai, located in a sector northwest of the city, was enclosed within the city walls in the early seventh century, for protection.[55] As the Virgin was seen increasingly as the principal divine protector of the city of Constantinople, these three great Marian churches took on particular importance.[56]

In the ninth century Mary ceased to be known solely as Theotokos, but took on distinctly maternal attributes and expressions as well, and was thereafter labeled ubiquitously *Meter Theou*, Mother of God, in depictions in all types of images and media, from coins to mosaics. In 867 Photius, in his Seventeenth Homily, vigorously promoted the maternal side of the Virgin in a public proclamation at the time of the dedication of her image in the apse of Hagia Sophia.[57] Although the images of Mary holding Christ on her lap in the apse of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and also in the apse of Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki, are unlabeled, other images of the enthroned Virgin and Child from the late ninth century on bear the ligatured label *Meter Theou*. Another type of image of the Virgin that became popular after Iconoclasm is the Virgin of the Deesis, the intercessory image showing the Virgin and John the Baptist interceding on behalf of humankind before Christ.[58] Numerous other types evolved and were associated with different aspects of Mary. The Hodegetria image appears ubiquitously from this time on, showing the Virgin holding the Christ Child on her arm and gesturing toward him with her other hand.[59] The image was based on a miraculous icon painted by Saint Luke kept at the Hodegon monastery, where the blind were healed, "showing them the way."[60] Protective, imperial, and victory-bringing attributes were attached to the Virgin from at least the early seventh century. Veneration of her images was associated with the rise of the practice of carrying icons of the Virgin in processions in the post-iconoclastic period.[61] Marian shrines were the most visited of all Christian sites, and icons with her images were essential in moments of crisis and battle.[62] In addition to the processions in her honor on commemorative or feast days, there were weekly icon-centered processions associated with the Hodegon and Blachernai monasteries, which competed with each other and contributed to her popularity among the populace.[63]

The Virgin Mary's role as protectress of the city of Constantinople was underlined in popular processions to her shrines.[64] By the tenth century, the *Typikon of the Great Church* records a total of ten processions at which

the Virgin was honored: Nativity of the Virgin: September 8; Presentation in the Temple: November 21; Dedication of the Church of Theotokos Chalkoprateia: December 18; Dedication of the Church of the Virgin at Blachernai: December 28; Hypapante/Purification of the Virgin: February 2; Vigil of the Annunciation: March 24; Annunciation: March 25; Deposition of Virgin's Robe at Blachernai: July 2; Dedication of the Church of the Virgin of the Source at Pege: July 9; Dormition: August 15. All of these processions terminated at one of the three great Marian churches: the Chalkoprateia, Blachernai, or Pege.[65]

The sanctuary of the Virgin at Pege was founded in the fifth century after a spring, or *pege*, at this verdant and well-watered site became famous for its miraculous healing powers. Among the healings was that of a blind man, under Leo I. The emperor Justinian constructed a domed church there in the sixth century after he was himself miraculously healed of an ailment. In 869–879 Basil I rebuilt the dome of the church and refurbished its mosaic decoration with an image of the Ascension in the dome and other feast scenes around the walls, as noted in Chapter 2. Although this church survives only in contemporary descriptions, it is noteworthy that the Ascension dome that survives in Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki (fig. 1.32) is dated to 885, and is thus closely contemporary with the installation of this image in the Pege dome; it may have been modeled on it. The Pege was associated with an icon of the Virgin of a particular type that compared her metaphorically to a healing spring: the life-giving spring, or Zoodochos Pege.[66] Emperors participated in ceremonial processions to the Pege on the Feast of the Ascension of Christ, a Thursday forty days after Easter, as described in Chapters 8 and 27 (18) of the *Book of Ceremonies*.[67] The ceremonies and processions on that day are revealing. I will paraphrase the description in *De ceremoniis*:

> Before daybreak on the morning of the feast, the dignitaries arrive at the Imperial Palace and, if the weather permits, depart together by boat, landing at a small port near the Golden Gate. After receiving his crown, the emperor mounts and rides over a small prairie alongside the city wall until he reaches the city gate facing the monastery of Pege. Having taken up a censer, he proceeds into the atrium of the church, dismounts, and climbs a staircase to his apartments, where the praepositus removes his crown.[68] After donning a white divitission and chlamys, he joins his entourage and, after an acclamation, descends the stairway to be greeted by the patricians, generals, and senate who have assembled. The emperor is presented ritually with crosses made of roses and with aromatic boughs, and is acclaimed once more. Then he greets the patriarch with a ritual kiss, and prays before the Cross and the Gospels. Entering the narthex, emperor and patriarch greet each other once more; the emperor takes a lighted candle and attends to the prayer of the Small Entrance of the liturgy. The emperor then takes the patriarch's hand and they enter the church and proceed to

> the solea. Bowing deeply before the Holy Doors, the emperor enters and places a gift on the altar. He then leaves the sanctuary and climbs the staircase to the gallery, where he will follow the rest of the liturgy before a portable altar. When the time for Holy Communion arrives, the patriarch is summoned by a messenger and delivers communion to the emperor personally. As the patriarch descends to complete the liturgy in the church below, the emperor turns and enters directly into his apartments. At the end of the liturgy the patriarch is invited to join the emperor in the triclinos of his apartments, where the meal is prepared and waiting. After removing their ceremonial garments, emperor and patriarch seat themselves and drink together, followed by comrades who join them for the meal. Meanwhile there are acclamations by the factions, outside in the atrium before the church. During dessert the emperor distributes offerings to them. Then, he and the patriarch drink once more, the emperor dons his sagion, and the patriarch his omophorion, and after they embrace once more, the emperor retires to his apartments and the patriarch departs.[69]

The extreme formality of the ceremony on the feast of Ascension is evident. A certain distance is maintained between emperor and patriarch, who show repeated signs of mutual honor and respect and express symbolically the harmony that exists between them: embraces, bows, joining of hands, personal communion, crowning, uncrowning, donning of ceremonial garments, drinking and dining,[70] formal announcements, and invitations at every juncture. Such ritualized behavior by emperor and patriarch conveys symbolically not only the separate integrity of church and imperium but also the mutual agreement and harmonious coexistence (ideally) maintained between the two.[71] The rituals so minutely prescribed by the *Book of Ceremonies* are much more than a display of pomp and power, and are in reality a ritualized form of negotiation of the roles of church versus state. The ceremony at the Pege is similar in its basic arrangement to that in the imperial church of Hagia Sophia on the Great Feast days, and on other commemorative occasions when the emperor participates in the liturgy there.[72]

The return procession of the emperor from the monastery of Pege back into the city and palace is described in Chapter 8 of the *Book of Ceremonies*, and is strikingly different in character.[73] The journey starts with chants set to music that invoke the protection of the Virgin Mary through her intercession for "powerful victory against the enemies," making the transition from the liturgy with holy communion at her shrine at Pege to a more generic "triumphal" and militant reentering of the city. A series of "receptions" by the factions, representatives of local groups or demes of political origin, take place along the route, starting at the Column of Pege, a landmark associated with a stylite saint, where the deme of the Blues salutes the emperor with acclamations.[74] The second reception, or choreographed short speech acclaiming the emperor, takes place at

the aqueduct near the Cistern of Mokios, followed by a third reception when the procession pauses at the church of Saint Mokios. The fourth is at the Exakionion, the fifth at the Xerolophos in front of the oratory of Saint Callinicus. The sixth is at the Forum Bovis and the seventh at the Amastrianum, followed by the eighth at the Philadelphion and ninth at the Forum Tauri. The tenth is under the Artopoleia vault, and the eleventh at the Forum of Constantine. The twelfth is at the Praetorium and the thirteenth under the arch of the Milion. Next the procession passes the Column of Justinian (or Achilleus) and the Gate of the Melete in the Augustaeum, after which it terminates at the Chalke Gate of the palace (to trace this procession, from the Pege monastery to the Chalke Gate, see fig. 4.1). The acclamations and chants of the factions—Blues, Reds, Whites, and Greens—honor the emperor as the procession reaches each station along the Mese, with some chants including references to the Mount of Olives and recalling the Gospel account of the Ascension of Christ. A final benediction invokes the protection of the Savior: "That He will guard you, sovereigns, for the success [*eutuchian*] of the Romans."[75]

The Mese with its imperial monuments is the path of the return procession from the Pege monastery on the Feast of Ascension, and the chants are now more reminiscent of a military victory celebration with roots in the ruler cult of Roman antiquity than a religious feast day; the liturgification of victory celebrations is amply demonstrated by such processions and acclamations outlined in the *Book of Ceremonies*.[76] The procession must have been viewed along the route by masses of spectators from among the populace of the city, who read the spectacle visually as a glorification of the emperor's "success" as well as a demonstration of Christian piety on the Great Feast of Ascension. What were the first hand impressions and sensory impact of such a spectacle for the person on the street?

The sensory appeal of a ritual procession progressing from the Imperial Palace to Hagia Sophia is evoked in a famous eyewitness account of the Arab prisoner Harun ibn Yahya, of around 881–886, during the reign of Basil I:

> [The Emperor] commands that on his way from the Gate of the Palace [Chalke Gate] to the Church for the common people [Hagia Sophia], which is in the middle of the city, be spread mats and upon them there be strewn aromatic plants and green foliage, and that on the right and left of his passage the walls be adorned with brocade. Then he is preceded by 10,000 elders wearing clothes of red brocade; their hair reaches their shoulders, and they wear no upper cloak. Then behind them come 10,000 young men wearing clothes of white brocade. All go on foot. Then come 10,000 boys wearing clothes of green brocade. Then come 10,000 servants wearing clothes of brocade of the color of the blue sky; in their hands they hold axes covered with gold. Behind them follow 5,000 chosen eunuchs wearing white Khorasanian

> clothes of half silk; in their hands they hold golden crosses. Then after them come 10,000 Turkish and Khorasanian pages wearing striped breastplates; in their hands they hold spears and shields wholly covered with gold. Then come a hundred most dignified patricians wearing clothes of colored brocade; in their hands they have gold censers perfumed with aloes. Then come twelve chief patricians wearing clothes woven with gold; each of them holds a golden rod. Then come a hundred pages wearing clothes trimmed with borders and adorned with pearls; they carry a golden case in which is the imperial robe for the emperor's prayer. Then before the Emperor comes a man called al-Ruhum who makes people be silent and says, "Be silent."[77]

The occasion for the procession is not stated, and the number of participants involved is clearly exaggerated, but what is clear from this description is that spectators at such a procession must have been bombarded with impressions related to all the senses: colors and textures of garments and artifacts, aromas of incense and scented boughs, and sounds of marching feet and of acclamations—and surely music.[78] Without a corresponding image of a Byzantine procession we must rely on a painting such as Gentile Bellini's *Procession in the Piazza San Marco* (1496) or Jost Amman's *The Feast of the Sensa* (ca. 1560) for a visual impression, with the grand vista framed by elaborate civic buildings and divisions of marchers by costume, artifacts carried, colors, and so on. It is indeed true that "spectacle is the most ephemeral of the visual arts," as one scholar has lamented.[79] To complete our visualization of the middle Byzantine ritualscape, let us now imagine the galvanizing role of images of the saints.

Visual reminders of saints took innumerable forms, and countless small-scale objects bear witness to the ways in which the Byzantines kept their salvific images before them. Examples dating from the medieval period are collected in museums worldwide; special exhibitions offer vivid confirmation of the use of images as integral to the Byzantine belief system.[80] Icons were used for personal devotion, for display on an icon stand (*proskynetarion*) in a church, or, in the case of large-scale icons, were carried in processions, especially on feast days of saints in the processions to their churches and shrines around the city. Calendar icons displayed in churches conveyed the whole host of saints celebrated during any given month, by densely grouping their portraits in rows, in a visual menology. Manuscripts were filled with framed images of saints painted in precious pigments and surrounded with fields of gold. Ivory triptychs, carved for an elite clientele, also served as portable icons, and preserve portraits of groups of saints, often warriors, who are arranged around feast images or depictions of the Virgin Mary or Christ.[81] Household articles such as lamps bore engraved images of saints. Liturgical objects such as censers, processional crosses, chandeliers, and book covers were fashioned with saints' portraits and

names engraved into their fabric. Coins often included either Christ or the Virgin on one side and an emperor on the reverse.[82] Enamels, those precious fusions of gold, jewels, and glass, were used in the decoration of book covers, reliquaries, chalices, crowns, encolpions, medallions, and numerous other luxury articles. Jewelry often included images of the saints in conjunction with inscribed prayers for help addressed to individual saints. Just as the Virgin Mary offered the hope for intercession with Christ and for the protection of Constantinople, holy warriors were invoked through their images to protect the empire, its borders, and its armies. All manner of objects bearing images of the saints were powerful motive vehicles of intercession, devotion, or affirmation of the Byzantine belief in the power of the saints.

Monumental mosaic and fresco images of the saints must have existed in hundreds of now lost churches throughout the city; images, relics, and processions would all have converged on the saint's feast day. In the period after Iconoclasm, images of Constantine and his mother, Helena, for example, are ubiquitous in surviving church decoration, occurring in the majority of churches of Cappadocia and Greece. In Constantinople, their feast was celebrated on May 21 with a procession of the patriarch, the emperor, the senate, and a crowd of faithful to the Church of Saint Constantine in the Palace of Bonus near the cistern of Bonus, just northwest of the church of the Holy Apostles;[83] the procession with the emperor also made a stop at the church of the Holy Apostles itself, where the emperor censed the tombs of his ancestors.[84] The cult of another pair of favorite saints formed its own category: the *anargyroi*, or doctors who healed "without a fee." The fifth-century shrine of the physician-saints Cosmas and Damian, the Cosmidion, lay just outside the walls to the northwest, in modern Eyüp. The church harbored relics and icons of these saints who were venerated for their healing power through the process known as incubation, or sleeping near the saint's tomb at night in the hope of a healing vision or dream. These saints are popular in monumental mosaics and frescoes, and also appear in the *Menologium of Basil II*, where they are depicted standing before Christ as they receive from him the symbolic gift of healing in the form of a little medical bag.[85] A procession to the Cosmidion in their honor took place every July 1; it involved the court and originated at Hagia Sophia, stopped at the Forum of Constantine, and then proceeded (5 km) to the sanctuary outside the city wall.

Another instance of the interplay between relics, processions, and images occurs in the case of Saint Stephen, whose relics were sent from Jerusalem by the exiled empress Eudocia in the fifth century. The relic of Stephen's arm resided in the church of Saint Stephen in the imperial palace of Daphne. In connection with this particular relic, he was represented in icons with an especially prominent right arm.[86] The church of this popular "imperialized" saint was the location of imperial marriages, and was frequently visited by imperial processions because of special

connotations of the saint, who offered protection and strength for the imperial family. Other saints with specifically imperial connotations were the archangels and warrior saints, who were seen as providing protection for the emperor and his dynasty.

In the *Book of Ceremonies*, ten imperial processions are mentioned that terminated in churches within the palace grounds and were attended by the court: Saints Sergius and Bacchus, Nea Ekklesia (3), Virgin of the Pharos (4), Saint Peter Apostle, and Saint Basil's oratory. Nine processions are described as taking place with the participation of the emperor in Hagia Sophia, and were therefore more public in viewing and participation. On sixteen occasions the emperor participated in processions on fixed and mobile feasts that circulated around the city among urban churches: Church of the Forty Martyrs, Saint Constantine, Saints Cosmas and Damian (2), Saint Panteleimon, Saint John of Stoudios, Virgin of Chalkoprateia (2), Holy Apostles (3), Saint Mokios, Virgin at Pege, Virgin at Blachernai (2), and All Saints. These were processions of great splendor.[87] Only occasionally do we have indications concerning the decoration or contents of the churches visited by processions, but in the period after the end of Iconoclasm the fact of their dedications might be sufficient to assume the existence of images of those saints in their monumental decoration. Along with cycles of Christological images from among the Dodekaorton, special prominence was given to the patron saint in wall mosaics and frescoes as well as portable icons and other objects.

In addition to Helena and Constantine, a number of imperial figures were made saints, as illustrated in an image in the *Menologium of Basil II* of the Empress Theodora, the iconophile wife of Theophilus (m. 830). She appears as a beautifully attired woman, crowned and wearing splendid purple robes, heavily adorned with gold and jewels. A large cross appears on her thorakion, and she holds a round image, or icon, of Christ.[88] Theodora ruled as regent for the young Michael III and was responsible for restoring the cult of icons, commemorated by the Feast of Orthodoxy, in 843. Shortly after her death, her vita was written, and in the tenth century she was made a saint; her feast day is February 11. She is depicted in the *Menologium* as the imperial ideal of female sanctity—a new Helena—and is also given a notice in the *Synaxarium of Constantinople*.[89]

An unexpected imperial tie with icons is found in in another hagiographical account, the *Life of Irene, Abbess of Chrysobalanton*, a rich and surprising text of the tenth century. As is often the case with vitae, passing references are revealing about features of everyday life. The saint lived in the mid-ninth century, when the iconoclastic controversy was still within living memory for many. The anonymous author refers in an aside to the "God-pleasing representations on icons which were painted and venerated on walls and panels in all kinds of material, bronze, silver and gold."[90] While this statement betrays a typical iconophile bias, it

also suggests the ubiquity of images of saints. Ordained as abbess of the monastery of Chrysobalanton by the patriarch Methodios (843–847), this woman acquired fame for her ability to prophesy, exorcise demons, and bring about miraculous healing through visions. To heal a nun possessed by demons, for example, she and the whole sisterhood prayed for four days, whereupon a vision of Saint Basil the Great appeared, "looking such as the icons represent him."[91] Saint Basil advises Irene to seek the intercession of the Virgin at her shrine at Blachernai. There, Irene experiences another vision, during incubation near the holy reliquary, around midnight:

> In a dream the holy Irene saw an awe-inspiring populous procession being prepared. The floor was minutely cleaned and again strewn with all kinds of fragrant flowers, while some figures in golden clothing scented the air with incense, walking up and down.[92]

The procession in her dream is referred to as if this were a familiar occurrence in everyday life, which would be especially true in the context of the famous Blachernai Monastery.

Another episode recounted in the *Life of Irene* shows an image at work. Irene's fame leads to unexpected communication with the emperor. She appears to him in his bedchamber in a vision, introduces herself, and demands justice for a relative who has been falsely accused, and pricks him in the side with a pin. To verify the identity of the needling woman in the vision, the emperor sends an artist to her nunnery to paint a portrait. Upon recognizing the woman in the portrait as his night visitor, he releases the prisoner and becomes her devotee.[93] Icons are often mentioned in saints' vitae as verifying the appearance of a saint or a person who will be made a saint. We also know from other hagiographic accounts that such a portrait would have been venerated after the saint's death, and was probably displayed at the saint's monastery. In this case, it would have been displayed in the church of the Archangel Gabriel, which served as the Katholikon of the monastery of Chrysobalanton. She would have been honored with a reading aloud of her vita and a local procession to her tomb in the chapel of Saint Theodore at the monastery. This would have occurred every July 28, her feast day.[94] The vita provides many details of life at this nunnery and mentions buildings, their functions, and their dedications. Although the convent of Chrysobalanton and its church have completely disappeared, we rely on the vita of its abbess for a vivid glimpse of the beliefs and practices that were associated with this saint.

In another source on Byzantine practices, a group of images collected in the *Menologium of Basil II* illustrates a particular category of event: public processions held on days commemorated because of a disaster, either natural or man-made, affecting the city of Constantinople. The images show processions in progress. They are usually led by a patriarch or

bishop. A processional cross, censers and candles, and groups of followers also feature in these images. Examples include: Memory of the "Terrors" of an Earthquake (September 25) on p. 65; Commemoration of the Great Earthquake of 740 and the Procession to the Blachernai Church (October26) on p. 142; Commemoration of the Rain of Cinders of 469 (November 6) on p. 164; Commemoration of the Earthquake of 450 and Procession (January 26) on p. 350.

The same preoccupation with historical events affecting Constantinople is apparent in the *Typikon of the Great Church*, where nine processions are recorded: Memory of the "Terrors" (September 25); Memory of the Earthquake of 740 (October 26); Memory of the Rain of Cinders of 472 (November 6); Memory of the Earthquake of 450 (Jan 26); Memory of the Earthquake under Constantine VI (March 17); Memory of the Avar Attack of 617 (June 5); Memory of the Saracen Attack (June 25); Memory of the Delivery of the City from the combined Avar and Persian Attack of 626 (August 7); Memory of the Deliverance of Constantinople from the Saracen attack of 717 (August 16).

The *Synaxarium of Constantinople*, on the other hand, records seven earthquakes and the places associated with them in local memory: Earthquake of 740 and Procession to Blachernai (p. 166); Earthquake of 450 (pp. 425–426); Earthquake and "Terrors" of 437 and Procession to Hebdomon (pp. 79–80); Earthquake of 557 (p. 308); Earthquake of 869 (p. 380); Earthquake of 989 (pp. 165–166); and Earthquake of October 7 (pp. 117–118). The fact that all three of these documents, the *Menologium*, the *Synaxarium*, and the *Typikon*, emphasize this category of historical events indicates their importance in the city's collective memory of past crises.

The *Menologium* provides illuminations rich in detail as visual records of the processions commemorating survival of disasters. For example, the illustration of the Earthquake of 740 with its procession to the Blachernai (fig. 4.2) shows the procession approaching from the left and arriving at a place in front of the open door of the Church of the Virgin at Blachernai.

Leading the procession is a haloed bishop, likely the patriarch, swinging a censer and carrying a Gospel book. Behind him a deacon carries a very large jeweled cross with pendilia; following is a crowd, some of whom are tonsured clerics carrying lit candles. One carries a scroll. The church is shown as a basilica, strong pink in color, with a deep blue curtain embroidered with gold draped across the entrance; the apse of the church is clearly shown on the right. The ground behind the scene is a solid field of gold leaf. The *Typikon of the Great Church* records the liturgy for the day (October 26), in the following way:

> Around the first hour, the patriarch ascends the ambo, and while the procession forms, they sing the troparion in the fourth plagal mode: "You who oversee the earth and make it tremble, save us

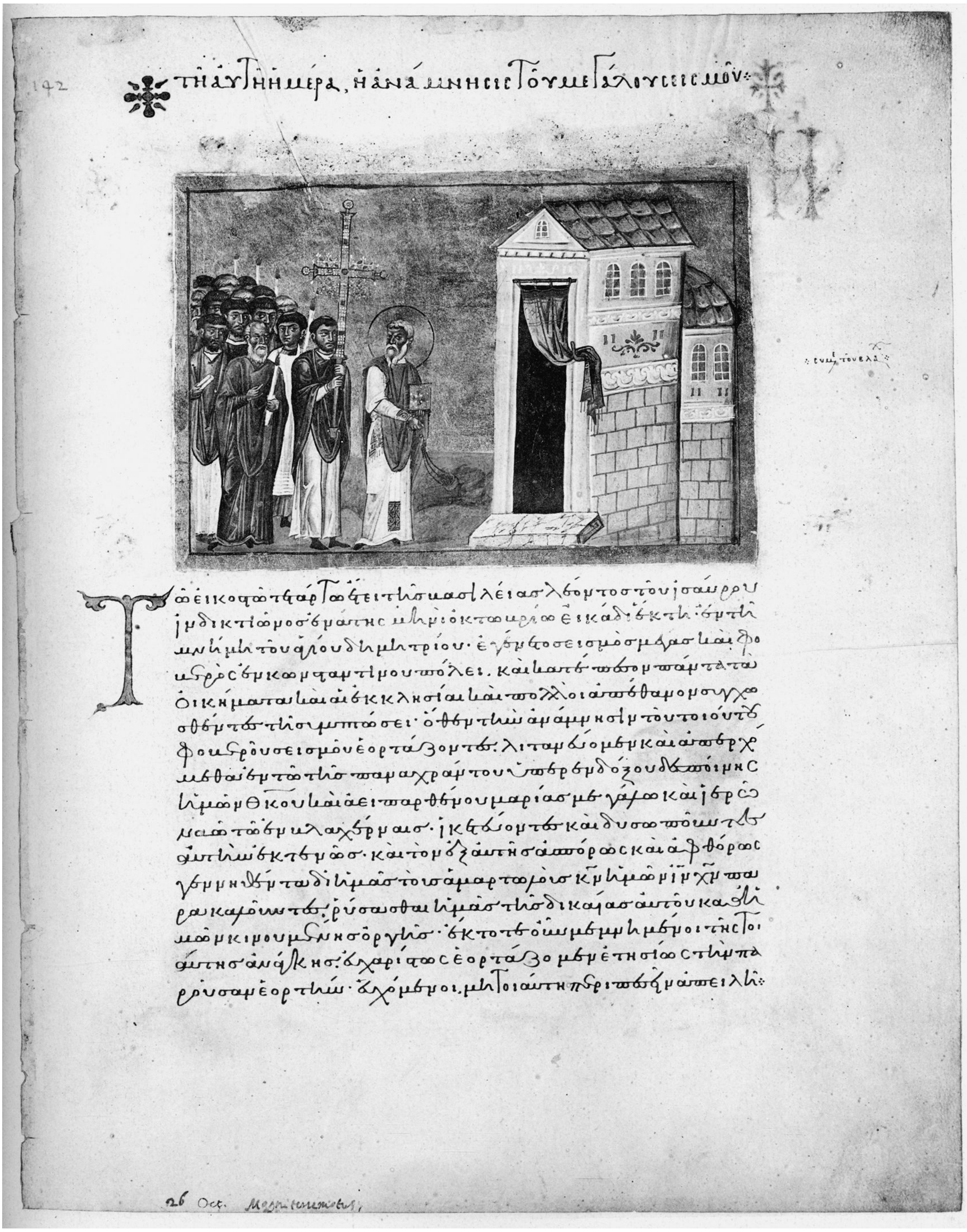


Fig. 4.2. *Menologium of Basil II*, Cod. Gr. 1613, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, p. 142: Commemoration of the Earthquake of 740 and Procession to Theotokos Church at Blachernai. After *Il Menologio di Basilio II, Cod. Vat. Gr. 1613*, vol. 2 (Turin, 1907), pl. 142.

from the terrible menace of earthquakes, O Christ our God, and pour upon us mercy, through the prayers of the Theotokos, you who are the only philanthropist." They say the Gloria Patri at the Forum [of Constantine], and after the habitual prayers there, the procession proceeds to the sanctuary of the Theotokos at Blachernai. The *psaltes* sings the troparion and then the Gloria Patri.[95]

Antiphons, sung prayers, a Gospel reading, and an alleluia complete the liturgy of commemoration. The route of this procession can easily be followed on a map of Constantinople (fig. 4.1).

Processions replicated spontaneous gatherings of people who at the time of the disaster naturally took to the streets and churches to pray. Bauer notes how "deeply rooted in the subconscious of the Constantinopolitan people" the act of communal procession was.[96] For example, after the raising of the combined Persian and Avar siege in 626 a victory procession was formed. It moved spontaneously through the city to the Church of the Virgin at Blachernai, at which prayers of thanks were offered to her as the supernatural defender of the city.[97] These memorials, enacted hundreds of years after the event, were still conducted in places where people had congregated at the time of a crisis. Survival of the crisis had entered the cult of shared popular memory as an instance of divine salvation. In the case of the Church of the Virgin at Blachernai, the landmark takes on multiple layers of meaning, in a place already rich in associations. Collective memories of past events such as these repeatedly defined for the populace what the city was: they reenacted in a vivid sense the city's reality on that day.

With Constantinople's "resident" saints and ritualscape in mind, let us consider the implications of the numerous ritual processions originating at the church of Hagia Sophia. Eighty-two processions are mentioned in the *Typikon of the Great Church* for movable and fixed feast days, meaning there was a major procession on average every four or five days throughout the year. Thirty-seven of these processions honored individual saints or groups of saints. The *synaxis* or Eucharist was celebrated at the termination points of the processions, at the church or chapel that held the relic, artifact, or icon associated with the saint. The processions in honor of the following saints, and their feast days, are:

St. Thecla (Sept. 14)
Death of St. John the Evangelist (Sept. 26)
St. Thomas (Oct. 6)
Sts. Sergius and Bacchus (Oct. 7)
St. Luke the Evangelist (Oct. 18)
Sts. Cosmas and Damian (Nov. 1)
St. Michael the Archangel (Nov. 8)

St. Menas (Nov. 11)
Exile of St. John Chrysostom (Nov. 13)
St. Andrew (Nov. 30)
St. Thyrsus and his companions (Dec. 14)
Sts Joseph and James (Sunday after Christmas)
King David (Dec. 27)
St. Polyeuktos (Jan. 29)
St. Peter and his chain (Jan. 16)
St. Timothy, bishop of Ephesus (Jan. 22)
St. Gregory Theologian (Jan. 25)
Transfer of St. John Chrysostom's relics (Jan. 27)
St. Photius, patriarch (Feb. 6)
Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (Mar. 9)
St. George (April 25)
St. John Theologian (May 8)
Helena and Constantine (May 21)
St. Stephen, patriarch 886–893 (May 27)
St. Nicephorus I, patriarch 806–815 (June 2)
St. Metrophanes, archbishop of Constantinople 306–314 (June 4)
St. Methodios, patriarch 843–847 (June 14)
Birth of St. John the Baptist (June 24)
Sts. Peter and Paul (June 29)
Twelve Apostles (June 30)
Sts. Cosmas and Damian (July 1)
St. Procopius (July 8)
St. Stephen III, patriarch 925–927 (July 18)
Elijah (July 20)
St. Panteleimon (July 27)
Translation of the Relics of St. Stephen (Aug. 2)
Beheading of St. John the Baptist (Aug. 29).

Forty-six of the processions described in the *Typikon* include a stop in the Forum of Constantine to venerate Saints Helena and Constantine.[98] These processions were all attended by the populace at large. In thirty-two cases, a major city church is one of the stations of the procession, most frequently Hagia Sophia, Holy Apostles, Blachernai, or the Chalkoprateia.[99] In all, the *Typikon* mentions ninety-seven different saints, confirming the vast amount of energy and wealth expended to build and maintain the numerous shrines around the city that served this extensive civic cult of the saints.[100] One might indeed think of the identity of the city of Constantinople in terms of the collective presence of its "resident" saints.

We acquire a new perspective on the surviving mural decoration of tenth- and eleventh-century churches of Greece and Cappadocia when we consider saints, their relics, and their shrines in Constantinople as they were venerated and visited. Our earlier survey of three Greek

churches and six Cappadocian cave churches confirms the continued popularity of the categories of saints' images commemorated in Constantinopolitan liturgies: angels, apostles, prophets, church fathers, bishops and patriarchs, monastics, healers, abbots/abbesses, female saints, holy warriors, and Helena and Constantine, who comprise their own individual category.[101] The sheer numbers of saints represented in the churches in Greece and Turkey are telling (see Appendices I and II). In the Cappadocian churches we have the following: at Kılıçlar Kilise there are 61 individual portraits of saints; at Ayvalı Kilise 56; at Tokalı Old and New Church 77 saints, plus 31 of the 40 martyrs of Sebaste, with a total of 108 portraits; at Çavuçin there are 16 saints' portraits preserved; and at El Nazar 27. Consider next the three much larger churches in Greece. At Hosios Loukas alone there are 182 individual portraits of saints in the mosaics and frescoes of the Katholikon and crypt; Nea Moni has 46 portraits preserved, and Daphni 52. More than half of these portraits are of saints with foundations recorded in Constantinople. There is an identifiable correspondence between named dedications of foundations in Constantinople and the saints depicted in churches of Greece and Cappadocia, even considering the losses on both sides. What else is implied by this convergence?

Provincial and monastic churches operated according to founders' and liturgical typika, which were local equivalents to the *Typikon of the Great Church in Constantinople*.[102] Liturgical practices, including processions, commemorations, and calendrical and festal observances, are performed throughout the year in these local environments. Shared beliefs bound the empire together through coordinated celebrations in all places and throughout the liturgical year. Saints were at the core of the associative mechanism that united the empire in its hope for protection and intercession. Surviving images of saints might thus be understood in relation to what we can gauge about the ritual life of Constantinople. From a provincial viewpoint, the emperor, Imperial Palace, and capital city were under the protection of the same saints as in the distant provinces. Their prayers were heard by the same company of saints as responded to the prayers of the emperor.

The association between saints and imperial protection is conveyed visually by one of the most striking manuscript images to survive from Byzantium, a frontispiece of the *Psalter of Basil II* (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. gr. 17, fol. IIIr), dating to ca. 1018 (see fig. 4.3). Basil II (976–1025) stands on a jeweled footstool, dressed in military regalia, with eight figures bowing low in submission at his feet. Silhouetted against a gold ground, he is framed by six icons of military saints, shown as pictures hanging on hooks around him, as if on a wall. Christ in heaven suspends a crown over the emperor's head, while the two archangels, Michael and Gabriel, hover in the air on each side and bless his crown and lance.[103]



Fig. 4.3. Psalter of Basil II, Cod. Gr. 17, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, fol. IIIr. Portrait of Emperor Basil II with icons of saints. Erich Lessing/Art Resource.

The warrior saints in the icons surround the emperor Basil like palace guards: Theodore, Demetrius, George, Procopius, and Mercurius; the inscribed name of the sixth is illegible.[104] These greatest among the holy warriors appear flanking him as loyal cohorts—as friends[105]—indicating that the real source of his strength and protection in battle is supernatural. Adversaries such as the conquered enemies who bow at his feet will inevitably fail. The image of imperial power, long evoked by statues of emperors armed for battle atop their columns in imperial fora, has shifted, for saints are now the shield that offers the most effective protection against threats to the empire. The Imperial Palace could likewise be visualized as surrounded by the city's protecting saints, represented by their relics throughout the city. In the visual language of the image, the emperor's victories, achieved through the intercession of the saints, belong to God.

In the wake of Iconoclasm a need to visualize the supernatural power vested in the saints inspired a revived and codified repertoire of saints' images, as well as their newly compiled and revised written vitae. Liturgical and ceremonial manuals indicate regular engagement with places that honored Constantinople's many saints, their icons, and their relics. Programs of monumental mosaics responded to the need to visualize in splendid and monumental form the divine plan, and with it all the champions of Orthodoxy, which imperial sponsorship helped accomplish on a huge scale.[106] According to Michael McCormick, "Both art and ceremony sometimes used a similar symbolic vocabulary; they portray the same deeper reality."[107] Constantinople's "resident" saints populated every corner of the city with their shrines and images, powerfully reassuring the populace of their protection as crowds of people "visited" or "accompanied" them (through their icons) according to a dense calendar of processions. The numerous mosaics and painted icons of those saints preserved in the Greek churches might serve as a distant mirror of the lost processional and ceremonial life of the capital city. The convergence of testimonia on the art and ceremonies of Constantinople reveals the Byzantine preoccupation with its saints. Visualizing the huge civic processions that ebbed and flowed across the landscape of Constantinople according to an timeless cycle provides the missing link between the Byzantine belief system concerning the role of the saints and the Middle Byzantine program of church decoration. Next, we consider the mosaiced church as a reflection and counterpart of this ritualized demonstration of the city's relationship with the saints through spectacular processions.

CHAPTER 5

MOSAICS AS A RITUAL ART

BYZANTINE MOSAICS AT WORK

MEDIEVAL CONSTANTINOPLE'S MOSAICS were clearly as prominent a feature in the visual experience of the capital as were the regular processions that ebbed and flowed through the palaces, churches, and streets, as we explored in the preceding chapter. In the period following Iconoclasm and the first generations of the Macedonian dynasty, both mosaics and ceremonies took on a systematic character. Gilbert Dagron sums up the outlook of post-iconoclastic Byzantium:

> Iconoclasm marked a rupture. With it ended the great age of the emperor-priest; after it strategies of piety were developed which, by means of ceremonial, religious architecture and the distribution of holy relics and imperial insignia, defined what may be called a religion of the emperors. . . . Their aim was now more modestly and more concretely to remodel the religious landscape, to impose a system on it and to trace in it a topography and itineraries that would restore to the emperors what they had lost in the unfortunate dispute of iconoclasm.[1]

Dagron urges us to consider material and ritual aspects of urban life in the capital in conjunction with one another. Art, ceremonial, and the attention given to saints and their relics may be cast as part of a strategy to restore order and unity to the empire. Both art and ritual stemmed from the same impulse and ultimately shared the same function within society.

In the struggle for a balance between priestly and imperial authority, symbolic activity such as ritual processions helped establish a sense of unity, immutability, and Orthodox identity among the populace at large. Ritual helped create a vision of *taxis*, or order.[2] Within the palace, the emperor maintained an outward show of his power and control over the ecclesiastical and court bureaucracy through imperial ceremonies. Popular processions involving patriarch and clergy, as well as periodic participation of the emperor and court, determined the rhythm of life across the wider urban landscape of Constantinople, with commemorative events enacted every few days throughout the year, in a perpetual cycle. Averil Cameron noted: "Power depended on that relation [of emperor and officials] rather than on the relation of emperor and people; its arena was naturally the palace, and its language was ceremony."[3] Spectacular, highly orchestrated processions were mirrored by the visual brilliance and orderly, hierarchical arrangement of the mosaics in the Imperial Palace and in churches around the city. For the faithful, merely stepping into the hushed interior of a church accessed another world, a world of images. Crowds of saints and divine protectors inhabited the shimmering tessellated surfaces of domes, walls, and vaults of Middle Byzantine churches, their attentive faces bearing witness to the devotions of the faithful, poised in readiness to respond to prayers for their intercession. In both art and ceremony, ritual space was transformed into a potent environment for shared commitment to emperor, God, city, and empire. In practice, processions and mosaics frequently intersected physically, for the stopping points of processions were often the thresholds of churches and halls dominated by strategically located mosaics, like those that can be seen today above portals in Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, discussed in Chapter 2 (see also figs. 2.6 and 2.7).[4] In the ninth and tenth century, mosaics took on a definitive role as a "ritual art," a claim whose fuller implications will be elaborated.

Is it possible to recapture lost aspects of a ceremonial culture whose monumental mosaic art has all but disappeared and whose moving processions have left no trace, after an interim of more than one thousand years? Can one still gauge the intended visual, social, psychological, and emotional impact of these two features—mosaics and processions—in terms of contemporary Byzantine experience? As Edward Muir laments with regard to processions in a Western medieval context: "The object of study here is neither an image nor a text but an event that took place at a particular time and place. All we have to examine are footprints in the snow, signs that some animal we have chosen to call a 'ritual' once passed by."[5] Fortunately, two texts help recapture these dynamic forms from the Byzantine point of view. They are the Tenth Homily by the patriarch Photius describing the inauguration of the refurbished palace church of the Virgin of the Pharos, of around 864, and the introduction to the *Book of Ceremonies*, written by the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus or his hired pen around 950. Although couched in

highly rhetorical and stylized language, the texts dramatize the interface between art and ritual, images and ceremonies, vision and meaning.

A useful approach in making this leap of association between Byzantine mosaics and ceremonial is through ritual studies, as we will see in the second part of this chapter. My approach identifies commonalities between the symbolic activities of Byzantine ceremonial and the ritual character and arrangement of Byzantine mosaics. In the words of Clifford Geertz, "The chief problem presented by the sheer phenomenon of aesthetic force, in whatever form and in result of whatever skill it may come, is how to place it within the other modes of social activity, how to incorporate it into the texture of a pattern of life."[6] The work of a number of cultural anthropologists and historians aids in defining principles behind a ritual model and invites application of these principles to a Byzantine context. Identifying shared features in our two forms of "aesthetic force," mosaic decoration and ceremonial processions, underlines the parallelism of their functions within their Byzantine context. When we consider ritual aspects of Middle Byzantine mosaics, the three surviving eleventh-century programs in Greece appear in a new light. It becomes clear *how* mosaics were intended to function or "work," *why* the ninth and early tenth centuries were the moment when the Middle Byzantine system made its appearance, and *who* was responsible for its inception and metropolitan origins.

The Tenth Homily of the patriarch Photius rewards careful reading, and sheds light on the relationship between ritual and art. After one cuts through its lofty language and prolix style, the sermon has an immediacy, directness, and vividness that help us understand the patriarch's objectives, as well as the subject of his description: the church of the Virgin of the Pharos in the palace and its mosaics.[7] The church, located deep within the imperial palace and adjacent to the throne room, the Chrysotriklinos,[8] and serving as a repository for the most sacred relics in Byzantium, has disappeared without a trace; even its approximate location in the area of Istanbul where the Imperial Palace was located is unknown.[9] However, a hypothetical plan and a reconstruction of the Imperial Palace based on literary descriptions aid in envisioning buildings, major landmarks, and processional routes (see figs 5.1 and 5.2).

Scattered archaeological evidence of the Imperial Palace has been identified, among which is the stupendous Imperial Palace Floor Mosaic, but there are simply too many unknowns to form a definitive picture.[10] The Pharos church, indicated on the hypothetical plan of the palace, and its reconstruction were celebrated under Michael III (842–867). The church had originally been built under Constantine V (741–775). The presumed date of the homily is between April 12, 864, and April 21, 866, and it was pronounced by the patriarch Photius in the presence of the emperor and Caesar Bardas at a large gathering at the church.[11] Since the text pertains to what must have been one of the first churches to

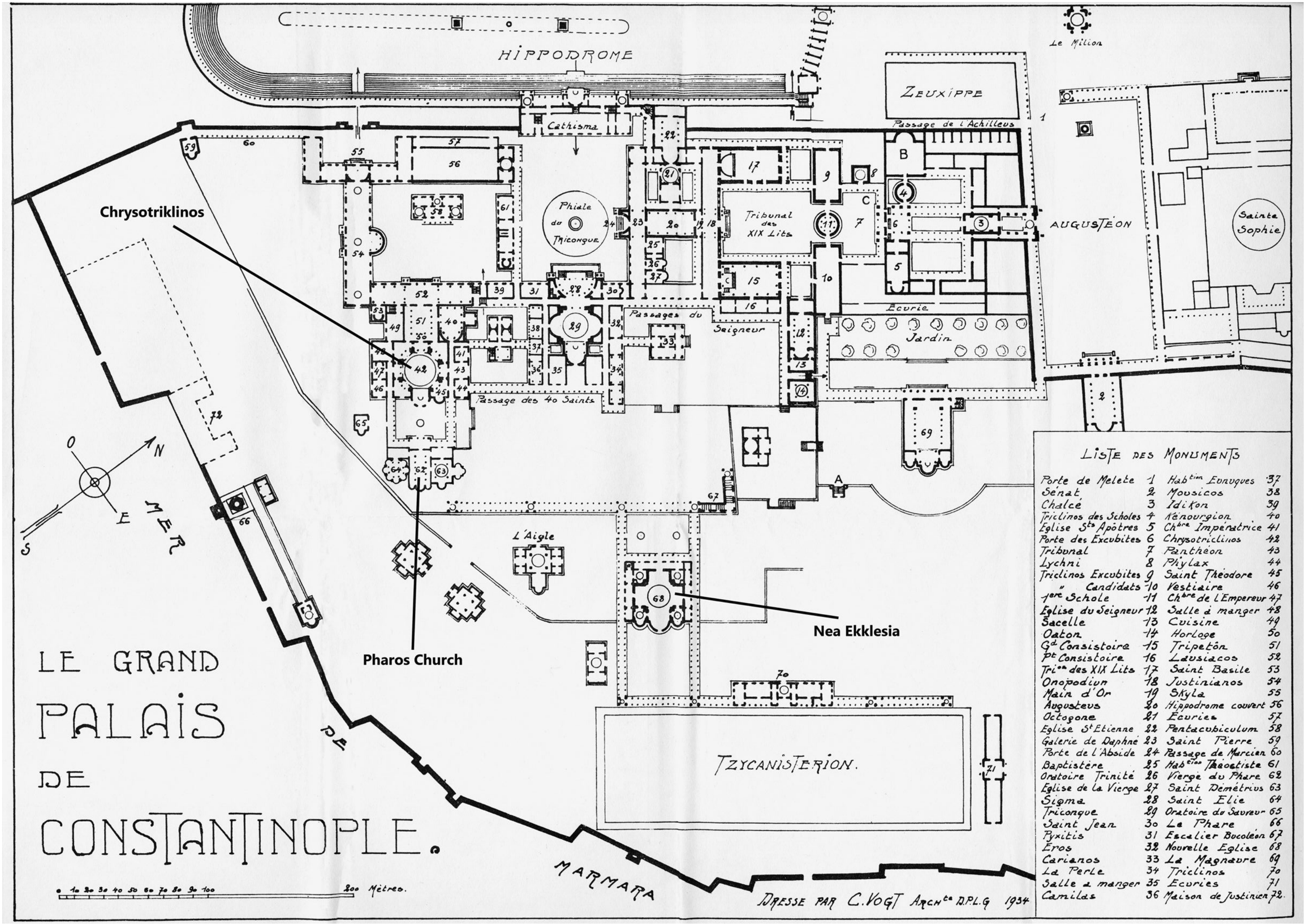


Fig. 5.1. Constantinople; hypothetical plan of the Imperial Palace. After Vogt, *De cer*.

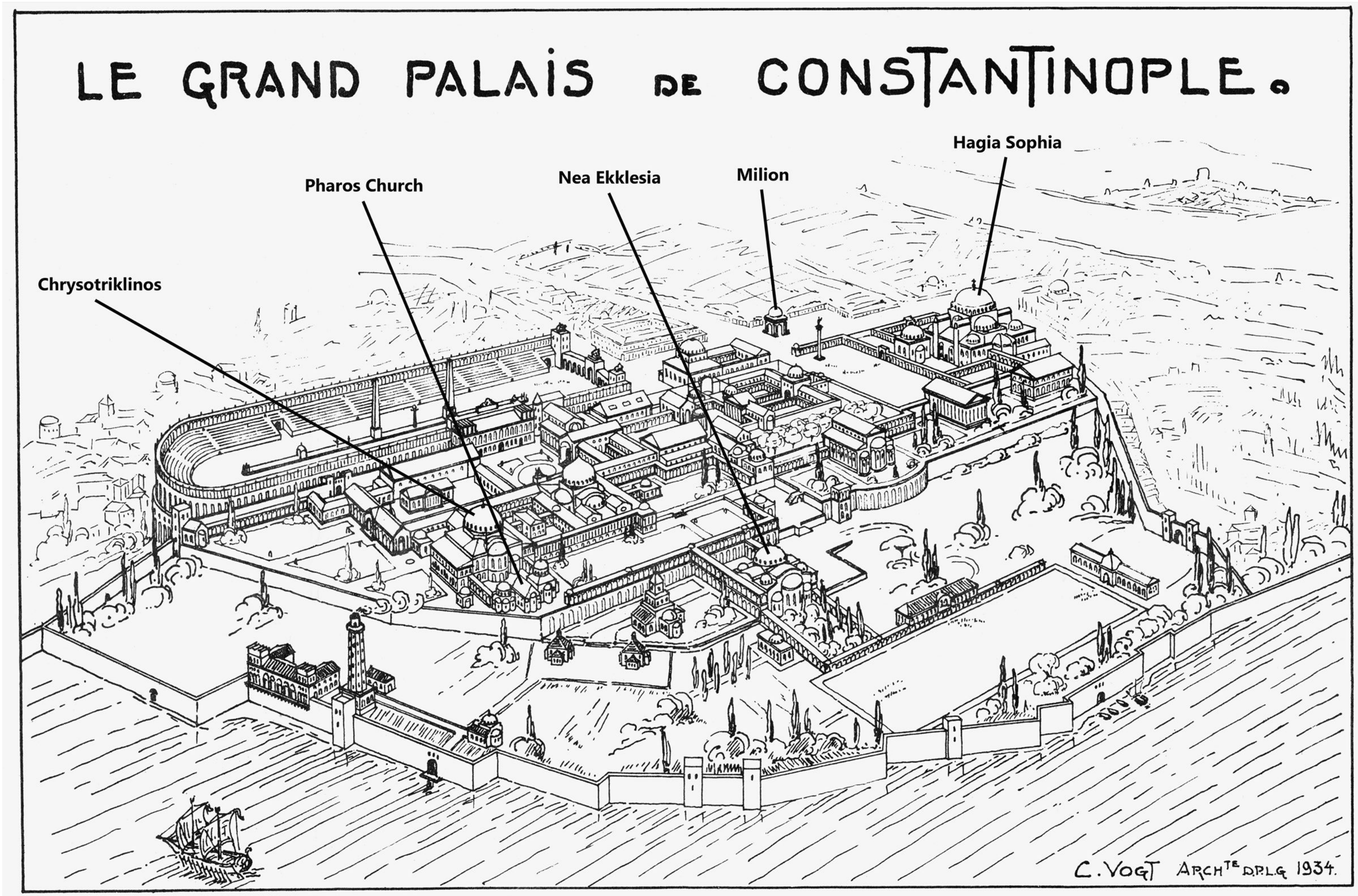


Fig. 5.2. Constantinople; hypothetical reconstruction of the Imperial Palace. After Vogt, *De cer*.

have a comprehensive mosaic program installed after Iconoclasm, it is important to pay close attention to *how* it is described, as well as to the subjects of individual mosaics.[12]

Photius begins his homily with a reference to the "great concourse and gathering" before him. He attributes the size of the gathering and magnificence of the occasion, which presumably included the court dignitaries, senators, and clergy, to "divine inspiration" (*epipnoias theias*), even claiming it has the attention of the Lord himself in heaven. He also notes that the occasion "does not celebrate a commemoration that is carried out in the usual yearly fashion, but introduces a fresh and newly-come honour to God."[13] The topos of "newness" emphasizes that this occasion marks a new beginning, in that the renovation of the church would be commemorated yearly from this time forward at a regularly scheduled ceremony.[14] The Pharos was to be the new principal church of the palace, or palatine chapel.

Photius weaves together a number of claims in paying tribute to the emperor Michael III, addressing the audience with rhetorical questions and hyperbole:

> What is the celebration? What has called together and stirred up all of us? Do you wish me to say it? Or would it be better to let him [the emperor] tell and explain the object of this celebration, who is both its instigator and its wise architect? For he is also able to describe the subject in words who, having preconceived in his soul the forms [*tupous*] of these things, has in his great wisdom created on earth this inimitable work.[15]

After these rhetorical phrases, Photius addresses the emperor directly:

> Show in words what thou hast already shown in deeds. Hast thou again won victories and trophies over the barbarians, with which time and time again thou hast graciously greeted us, and is this why thou hast convoked us, to gladden us and at the same time to send up in common our universal thanks to Him Who has granted the victory? . . . Instruct us who are looking up to thee as to the all-embracing eye of the universe [*tes oikoumenes aphorontas ophthalmon*], for which of these reasons thou hast called us together.[16]

Photius credits Michael as the "instigator and wise architect" of the church—that is, the person who sponsored the project—and then as the winner of "victories and trophies over the barbarians," ascribing the former to the "soul" of the emperor, and the latter to the power of God. He then situates himself, the speaker, among those many spectators who are "looking up to [Michael] as to the all-embracing eye of the universe," thereby elevating the emperor to share the same plane with the Almighty. In an artfully constructed conceit, he juxtaposes

God, the cosmic giver of victory, with the wise builder-emperor. How do these claims coincide with regard to the Pharos church and Photius's intentions?

If Michael III was the patron behind the lavish refurbishing of this palatine church, then who planned and supervised the mosaic decoration? If Michael did not dictate the architectural design and content of the mosaics, then it must have been entrusted to someone of authority with expertise in such matters. Might perhaps the patriarch Photius himself have designed the program? For a project of such importance, and at such a critical stage of the post-iconoclastic implementation of the new religious doctrine concerning images, decisions governing the iconographical program would require the most expert guidance. In crediting the emperor with the refurbishing of the church, Photius attributes the church's new appearance to the influence of God. It is now understandable why he has built up the theme of the emperor's victorious deeds, his heavenly protection, and his divinely appointed authority. It is to make the claim that the church in which they stand—a new departure—is also part of the divine plan. In actuality it is a work the speaker knows well. For Photius very likely had a guiding hand in decisions regarding the renovated design of the church and its mosaic decoration, to satisfy the strategic need for a dazzling visual statement of the newly formulated relationship among church, imperium, and images. There is ample reason to attribute this critical role to Photius.

Similar activity by Photius can be surmised at a later date: his role in initiating the new program of images for Hagia Sophia in the 860s, implied in his Homily 17 delivered at the inauguration of the image of the Virgin and Child in the apse in 867 (Chapter 2). In the 870s, he oversaw the production of the manuscript of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (Paris Gr. 510), with its personal messages and lavish exegetical illuminations, as a gift to Basil I, as discussed in Chapter 3. We know from Photius's sermons that he strongly believed in using images to express his politico-religious ideology, and that he was a fervent exponent of the idea that religious truths are more effectively conveyed through images than words. According to Photius, "Material presence—and material representation—had meaning."[17] In Orthodox belief, physical representation is critical for affirmation of the Incarnation. In his sermon on the Pharos church, I suggest, Photius celebrates one of the first major mosaic programs that he himself planned and directed twenty years after the end of Iconoclasm.

Continuing his rhetorical conflation of God and emperor in the Tenth Homily, Photius moves to the church's dedication: "A Virgin's temple is being inaugurated today on earth, a truly praiseworthy work of imperial magnificence, a church in the midst of the very palace." The Virgin Mary, as the supernatural protector of the city of Constantinople, is the special guardian of emperor, palace, and city, as discussed in Chapter 4. In the

sermon, the palace figuratively enfolds her church. As if in reciprocation, the Virgin Mary shelters church, city, and emperor from harm.[18]

In Photius's description of the church's physical appearance, the richness of the materials is stressed, again, for symbolic reasons. His ekphrasis presents the church's decoration in a poetic style that matches its ornamental splendor. Progressing from the atrium with its gleaming marbles into the church:

> Gold and silver cover the greater part of the church, the one coating tesserae, the other cut out and fashioned into plaques or otherwise applied to other parts. Over here are capitals adorned with gold, over there are golden cornices. (Verse 4)[19]

> In one respect only do I consider the architect of the church to have erred, namely that having gathered into one and the same spot all kinds of beauty, he does not allow the spectator to enjoy the sight in its purity, since the latter is carried and pulled away from one thing by another and is unable to satiate himself with the spectacle as much as he may desire. (Verse 5)[20]

The emphasis is on gold, the material of highest intrinsic and spiritual worth, according to the Byzantine value system.[21] Photius deftly evokes the capacity of the blazing interior to reflect light and create an impression of "ecstatic motion" equivalent to the experience of entering heaven;[22] the effect on the observer is also equated with having a limitless appetite, so that satiation is never completely possible. Hyperbole is used in an ironic comment on the architect's error in denying fulfillment to the spectator, for if Photius himself is the actual designer, he can feel secure in his self-aggrandizing remorse as an effective way of emphasizing a point.

Gold mosaic also serves as the ground for the figural depictions in the dome, apse, and vaults of the church, as mentioned at the climax of his description, in verse 6:

> On the very ceiling is painted in coloured mosaic cubes a man-like figure [*andreikelos eikon morphen*] bearing the traits of Christ. Thou mightest say He is overseeing the earth, and devising its orderly arrangement and government [*diakosmesin te kai kubernesin*], so accurately has the painter been inspired to represent, though only in forms and in colours, the Creator's care for us. In the concave segments next to the summit of the hemisphere a throng of angels is pictured escorting our common Lord. The apse which rises over the sanctuary glistens with the image of the Virgin, stretching out her stainless arms on our behalf and winning for the emperor safety and exploits against the foes. A choir of apostles and martyrs, yea, of

prophets, too, and patriarchs fill and beautify the whole church with their images.[23]

In this passage, he first refers to the mosaic image of Christ in the apex of the dome who appears to "oversee" the gathering, while earlier it was the emperor who was the "all embracing eye of the universe," in a continuation of the word play between earthly and heavenly sovereigns. Here, Christ "devises [earth's] orderly arrangement and government." The value placed on order indicates that this is a desirable principle to be maintained as a result of divine influence.[24] Extending this principle downward, the "orderly arrangement" includes the angels in the cusps of a gored dome, an orant Virgin Mary in the apse over the altar,[25] and portraits of individual saints arranged on the walls and vaults around the church. The hierarchical arrangement of surfaces and subjects from the dome downward descends by rank, just as the architectural units were divided into axially symmetrical segments in order to sustain a coherent system of support, from dome to pavement. The earth's orderly arrangement is mirrored in the interior of the church. The representative of Christ, the emperor, maintains the "orderly arrangement and government" of the earth on behalf of his heavenly colleague. The imperial overtones of the domed, mosaiced church were present from its inception, and are here made explicit, as Photius expounds the intended symbolism and meaning of the mosaics of the Pharos church. The divinely protected and victorious emperor is present not only at the inauguration of the Pharos church; he is also implicitly present in any setting or church where Christ is represented, for Christ and his earthly representative work in tandem, almost interchangeably, according to Byzantine ideology.

The most forthright visual juxtaposition of emperor and Christ occurred in the Chrysotriklinos, or golden throne room, of the palace (see hypothetical plan in fig. 5.1 and reconstruction drawing in fig. 5.2). Photius also likely had a role in the rebuilding or refurbishing of this palace building, sometime between 856 and 866. A mosaic image of the enthroned Christ appeared in the apse directly over the emperor's throne, and the inscription running around the dome states: "For behold, once again the image of Christ shines above the imperial throne. . . while above the entrance is represented the Virgin as divine gate and guardian."[26] The Virgin Mary appeared in a mosaic over the main entrance door of the Chrysotriklinos in her role as "holy door" or "gate," guarding the divinely protected emperor.[27] In the inscription around the throne room, recorded in the *Greek Anthology*, Michael III is referred to as one "whose deeds are filled with wisdom" (*sophourgou*),[28] a topos of wise emperor also used in Photius's Tenth Homily. The inscription makes a bold switch in names: "Hence we call 'the new Christotriklinos' that which aforetime had been given a gold name [Chrysotriklinos]." In

substituting the name of Christ for the word for gold, the author cannot resist a pun that conveys the same juxtaposition of God and emperor as in Photius's description of the Pharos church. Midway through the inscription around the throne room, however, is a noteworthy remark:

> The Emperor and Bishop are depicted close by along with their collaborators inasmuch as they have driven away error, and all round the building like guards, stand angels, apostles, martyrs, priests.[29]

According to the inscription, the patriarch Photius is himself depicted alongside the emperor, as his partner in expelling the error of Iconoclasm, while other figures around the vault serve as guardians of the pair: angels, apostles, martyrs, priests, and prophets—almost the same list of categories of images as in Photius's description of the Pharos church. The patriarch is celebrated in the mosaics for his role as codefender of Orthodoxy along with Michael III, a role that would have meant he had immense influence in defining imagery of this time. Photius would have encouraged the installation of his own image in the vault of the throne room alongside that of the emperor, for an image of emperor and patriarch aligned with one another would have sent a powerful and reassuring message that Iconoclasm was indeed definitively terminated.

In a separate inscription in the Chrysotriklinos, Michael III is again cited in relation to the restored cult of images:

> O Emperor Michael, as preserving the bright preciousness of the ancient image, and as conqueror of all fleshly stains, thou dost picture the Lord in colours too, establishing by deed [*ergo*] the word of dogma.[30]

The image of Christ enthroned that appeared in the apse was set against a gold ground, resplendent in brightly colored mosaics, the most worthy medium for projecting visually the central points of Orthodox dogma.[31] Michael's deed (*ergo*) of sponsoring the image in the apse, doubly emphasized through the inscriptions, probably had parallels in other buildings and media. The mosaics and inscriptions of the Chrysotriklinos, installed between 856 and 866, could have antedated the mosaics of the church of the Virgin of Pharos of 864–866.[32] But in any case, they are closely contemporary, and the mosaics of both buildings must have served as models for those in a new generation of churches as they sprang up or were refurbished in the next generation as the Middle Byzantine program of church decoration took shape.

The last theme that occupies the patriarch in the Tenth Homily is that of eyes, vision, sight, and the process of seeing. In verse 7, Photius refers, albeit obliquely, to the role of vision at such an inauguration:

> But how can one attempt in so short a time to describe in words the wonders of this renowned church, when even sight [*opsis*] itself,

> though it surpasses the other senses in alacrity, is proved incapable after a length of time of comprehending them in any way.[33]

In a culture that considered seeing to be an active force, with rays emitted by the eyes striking and instantly taking in the meaning of the image or object they touched, the way to understand or intuit the deeper meaning of a subject was to observe it steadily. This is an Aristotelian theory of intromission known from classical antiquity.[34] Hearing or reading a verbal description was thus much less effective than seeing an image in internalizing its message or meaning. This idea is taken up again in the Seventeenth Homily of Photius, delivered at the dedication in 867 of the apse mosaic in Hagia. Photius lays out the Byzantine theory of vision in verse 5:

> Just as speech is transmitted by hearing, so a form through sight is imprinted upon the tablets of the soul [*tois tes psuches encharassetai pinaxin*]. . . . For even if the one introduced the other, yet the comprehension that comes about through sight is shown in very fact to be far superior to the learning that penetrates through the ears. . . .
>
> . . . No less—indeed much greater—is the power of sight. For surely, having somehow through the outpouring and effluence of the optical rays touched and encompassed the object, it too sends the essence of the thing seen on to the mind, letting it be conveyed from there to the memory for the concentration of unfailing knowledge. Has the mind seen? Has it grasped? Has it visualized? Then it has effortlessly transmitted the forms to the memory.[35]

Imprinting "upon the tablets of the soul" takes place when the viewer contemplates the image. In accordance with icon theory, in venerating an image one communicates directly with the prototype, or original model, while the image or icon serves as an intermediary.[36] Photius also describes the reverse process, when he bemoans the fact that the pre-restoration Hagia Sophia (i.e., before its walls were clad with mosaic images) "shed but faint rays [*aktinas*] from its face to visitors, and in this respect the countenance of Orthodoxy appeared gloomy" (verse 4).[37] The church is personified as one whose face and eyes can neither see nor be seen in its state of neglect (absence of images). The same process was considered to apply equally to icons, either small panels or monumental representations of saints, for these images also were thought to emit rays, and through an exchange of "gazes" the viewer and the prototype of an icon could communicate.[38] Photius's claim in the Tenth Homily that sight has been rendered incapable of taking in the wonders of the church would thus have been understood as a conceit based on the assumption of the supremacy of sight. To say that sight was insufficient to the task of taking in the church's wonders was a figurative oxymoron, suggesting the inconceivable.

Photius's Tenth Homily was delivered at a festive occasion, the inauguration of the refurbished palace church of the Virgin of the Pharos. The patriarch evokes the ceremony's mood and tone in the elevated language he uses to address the participants, among them the emperor. In his stylized description he reacts to the splendor of the building's interior, with its precious materials and program of mosaics. Since the description took the form of an ekphrasis, the Byzantine listener/reader was urged to reflect on the experience of the newly resplendent, divinely inspired work, primarily through the extraordinary power of sight.

Seeing and being seen applied not only to the visual exchange between viewers and the iconic images in churches but also to a persistent and regular feature of the Constantinopolitan landscape, the ceremonial processions described in Chapter 4. Those participating in the procession, those officiating, and those spectating were all necessary components of the ritual.[39] A modern definition of ritual serves to introduce the next text for consideration:

> In the repetition and order, ritual imitates the rhythmic imperatives of the biological and physical universe, thus suggesting a link with the perpetual processes of the cosmos. It thereby implies permanence and legitimacy of what are actually evanescent cultural constructs.[40]

The *Book of Ceremonies,* compiled in the mid-tenth century by the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913–959), is a lengthy prescriptive text that describes, sometimes in minute detail, how imperial ceremonies should be performed to celebrate various occasions throughout the year.[41] That is not to say they would always be enacted in exactly this way, but Constantine apparently wished to preserve the record and to create an informative and reliable guide for his successors, especially his son, the future Emperor Romanus II. The emperor Constantine, himself an artist (a painter), a builder, and patron of the arts,[42] was also a scholar and writer, a leader in the mid-tenth-century movement of compiling and recording useful knowledge from the past, as discussed in Chapter 3. He likely wrote *De ceremoniis* around 945–950, after he took power as emperor in his own right.[43]

The first thirty-seven chapters concern imperial ceremonies celebrating religious feasts and saints' days. The text describes processions to sanctuaries in the palace and around Constantinople and includes acclamations that were scripted for the demes, or units of local government, to utter, shout, or sing. Other sections of the work concern ceremonies on secular as well as religious occasions: events in the hippodrome, coronations, marriages, and promotions, including some from earlier times, dating back to the period of Justinian and earlier. The elements common to these first thirty-seven chapters include movement from one station or stopping point to the next, the costumes of official participants, the ranks of officials and order of their appearance, and the scripts

of responsive acclamations pronounced by representatives of circus factions and other participants at particular junctures. Indications are given for the performance of formulaic songs, including their mode or pitch. Also included is dining that was ritually partaken by specified members of the assembled, usually the emperor, family members, the patriarch, and certain "friends," no doubt important visitors, senators, and members of the court bureaucracy, in a stated place.

Those occasions when dining took place in the Hall of the Nineteen Couches must have been the most momentous and spectacular. Some 228 diners could be accommodated, according to one estimate, and the emperor reclined at a golden table. All were seated according to their rank or relationship to the emperor.[44] The book's prescriptions indicate the intense care in adhering to innumerable details in the performance of these rituals, as noted in the ceremonies on the feast of Ascension in Chapter 4. It demonstrates that imperial ceremony was inevitably religious in nature, and that there was a complete intermingling of palace ritual with the Christian liturgical year.[45]

Processions such as those in the *Book of Ceremonies* became a dominant feature of urban life in Constantinople and were already integrated into the life of the city from well before the time of change and adaptation to new circumstances after Iconoclasm.[46] Examining Constantine's own explanation of the reasons he produced his manual and what he believed processions were meant to convey is one route into an understanding of this central feature of Byzantine life and culture. His language in the Introduction to *De ceremoniis* is prolix and formal, but the meaning is clear:

> Some, who do not much care for necessary matters, would perhaps view this present enterprise [the composition of this manual] as superfluous; for us, however, this work is very dear, for it appears worthy of all our care and more fitting, in fact, than all other cares, since, thanks to a praiseworthy ritual [*taxeos*], the imperial power appears more majestic, grows in prestige, and at the same time evokes the admiration both of strangers and of our own subjects.[47]

Constantine stresses the importance of ritual as a corollary and reflection of the grandeur of imperial power, which is projected outward to both foreigners and Byzantines alike. To be rich and powerful is not enough; one has to *appear* rich and powerful. The emperor's clothes have to fit. Ritual is not to be neglected, as he impresses on the reader/listener. He continues:

> Many things, in fact, by nature tend to disappear with the passing of time, which has created and exhausted them. Of this number is the great and precious matter that is the expression and codification of imperial ceremonial [*taxeos*]. Because it was neglected and, so to speak, perishing, the empire was viewed truly as without adornment and

> without beauty. Moreover, just as one would call disorderly a body badly constituted, one in which the limbs are joined together pell-mell and without unity [*ataxian*], so it is with the imperial government when it is not conducted and governed with order [*taxei*].[48]

The transient nature of all things makes the need all the greater for the empire to preserve those things which connote durability, permanence, and beauty. He insists that retrieving lost order (*taxis*) is equivalent to retrieving beauty, in a word play using as a metaphor the human body in a state of disorder (*ataxia*).[49]

The outward appearance of harmony of the political system must be projected through well-conducted, orderly rituals. Constantine's solution to the problem is expressed through a complicated series of rationales and metaphors:

> In order to escape that condition, and so that we do not appear to insult the imperial majesty, we have believed it would be appropriate to gather together carefully, from the right and the left, whatever was established by the ancients and transmitted by their contemporaries or seen by ourselves and established for us and introduced in our time, to set it forth in the present work in a synthesis easily understood, and to pass on to our successors the tradition of ancestral customs which had fallen into disuse. They will be like flowers we gather from the meadows to embellish incomparably the imperial splendor.[50]

Continuity with the past, a common topos among the Byzantines, is cited here, when in fact the process of compiling and regularizing ceremonies constitutes a conscious change in policy, one aimed at consolidating imperial power and its ideological union with the Church more securely than in the past.[51] The allusion to flowers as a simile for ceremonies, whose colorful beauty would "present the incomparable beauty of the royal brilliance" (literal translation), evokes the flowers and boughs that were actually used to embellish the portions of the palace and city through which the imperial processions would pass.[52]

He continues, using a curious metaphor for the ceremonies in the last of a succession of five complex infinitive clauses introduced by "it is necessary":

> And [we thought it was necessary] to set up in the midst of the palace, as it were, a bright and newly polished mirror in which one can visualize the reins of the imperial power leading forth in good order and arrangement [*en taxei kai kosmo*] things that are appropriate for royal rule and worthy of the senatorial organization.[53]

The mirror reflects an ideal image of imperial rule, that of the emperor holding the reins of power and so directing the orderly administration

of the empire.[54] The metaphor evokes a charioteer holding the reins of his skillfully controlled team of horses as he leads them out to acknowledge a victory in the hippodrome. The message is clear: orderly and well-managed ceremony is the outward sign of effective rule, with all officials maintaining their respective places, each according to his rank, and with the ultimate power firmly held by the emperor. The throne room, at the center of the palace, is the place from which power emanates. The symbolic importance of ceremony is paramount, for it enacts an ideal of imperial authority. The location of the envisioned mirror is in the midst of the palace, in the throne room from which the emperor dispatches his authority. The same image was also used in Photius's Tenth Homily, discussed above, in describing the location of the Pharos church as "in the midst of the very palace" (verse 3), that is, in the most secure and carefully guarded place, where nothing happens by chance.

In closing, Constantine extends the image of an orderly empire to one that imitates the cosmos:

> Therefore, may the imperial power, being employed with measure and good order [*ruthmo kai taxei*], reproduce the harmonious movement that the Creator gives to this entire universe. [55]

According to Constantine, it is through the "measure and good order" of the conduct of ceremonies that the emperor is seen to rule on earth as the ideal architect, the colleague and imitator of God in heaven. *Taxis*, the governing principle stressed throughout the essay, can connote both order and ceremony, depending on the context.[56] Imperial ceremonies represent ritually the harmonious relationship between the emperor and God, and work in a vital way to maintain the appearance of that reality. Now it is time to apply the features noted above, in the Tenth Homily of Photius and in the Introduction to the *Book of Ceremonies*, to a combined ritual interpretation and analysis of art and ceremony as two sides of the same coin.

MOSAICS AT WORK

In the two texts, one concerning the Pharos church and its mosaics, and the other the enactment of imperial ceremonies, certain themes and language suggest shared ways in which mosaics and ceremonies functioned or "worked." The Middle Byzantine church and ceremonial processions can be juxtaposed in an objective sense as ritual aspects of Byzantine culture.[57] Let me propose the following hypothetical framework for analyzing mosaics and processions in juxtaposition with one another:

1. *Structuring.* The "orderly arrangement" (*diakosmesis*) of the mosaic decoration of the Pharos church, as described by the patriarch Photius, and the "measure and good order" (*ruthmo kai taxei*) of imperial ceremony evoked by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, suggest they

both fulfilled a role of structuring everyday experience as it existed in the palace and city. Mosaics filled numerous churches throughout Constantinople, visually creating an integrated and rational environment, while imperial or religious ceremonies of many types provided a framework for daily life and movement, around the city and continuously through time.

2. *Sensory loading*. In both cases there was a comparable sensory loading, in the visual and material splendor of colors of garments, jewels, and shining gold and silver ornament; the effects of light and movement; the olfactory sensations—the scents of flowers, fragrant boughs, and clouds of incense; and auditory effects, which included singing of hymns, chanting, and acclamations.[58] There was a virtual bombardment of the senses in the experience of both mosaics and ceremonies, resulting in a "synesthetic experience" in which the whole body was engaged.[59]
3. *Topographic marking*. The locations where mosaics and ceremonies were experienced often correlated with one another, for mosaics appeared, physically, in strategic locations throughout the palace and in churches along the routes of public processions around the city; mosaics served a parallel and mimetic function to the activity of ritual itself.[60] Mosaic images acted as signposts along the routes of processions, throughout the palace, within the Great Church, and in churches in and around the city: from the apse of the Chrysotriklinos, to the image of Christ over the Chalke Gate; from the tympanum mosaic over the Royal Doors in Hagia Sophia to the Virgin and Child in the apse of the same church; from the vaults of palace churches, such as the Pharos church and the Nea Ekklesia, to the vaults of the Pege church, the Blachernai, the Chalkoprateia, Saint John of Stoudios, Holy Apostles, and the innumerable churches dedicated to individual saints. Each place had its associations with both images and rituals.
4. *Imperial legitimation*. Both mosaics and ceremonial processions depended on the actual or implied presence of the emperor, for in each, God and emperor were constantly juxtaposed, either symbolically or explicitly. Both showed unequivocally where power lies. As we have noted, it was not uncommon to see imperial figures depicted in conjunction with divine ones, as for example in mosaics in Hagia Sophia, as well as in other types of images and media.[61]
5. *Hierarchy*. A comprehensive hierarchical arrangement prevailed in both forms. In ceremonies, the ranks of imperial and ecclesiastical personages, from the emperor and patriarch down to the least important attendants, were involved in a display of relative status, complete with color coding and attributes,[62] while in a mosaiced church, the hierarchy started with the Pantokrator in the dome and extended downward through angels and Apostles to near-contemporary bishops and local saints in the earthly realm, depicted in the lower levels.

In both, a sense of cosmic order was created, in which spectators, participants, or worshippers were included in that hierarchy and enveloped in a unifying whole.

6. *Tradition, memory, and the past*. Tradition was honored in both media, for ceremony represented an element of real continuity with the Roman past.[63] Processions recalled the memory of civic events related to the city's survival of crises. Mosaics represented visually the history of salvation and the long iconographic tradition of rendering saints and narrative scenes in monumental settings.
7. *Reflexive action*. Both mosaic art and ceremony functioned in an active, flexible system in relation to current or local needs and concerns.[64] For example, mosaics representing the Washing of the Apostles' Feet by Jesus reinforced the gravity and symbolism of the event as mimetically reenacted by abbots and monks in the space before the image during Holy Thursday rituals.[65] Mosaics and ceremonies also functioned as mirroring one another, as for example when mosaics were used as signposts for processions.[66]
8. *Spatial dimension*. The interior of a church or hall is "inhabited" by the presence of the events and personages represented in mosaics, in an otherworldly reality. Byzantine mosaics came to maturity and found their ultimate expression on curved surfaces, in which the physical space enclosed by the niche opens into the real space between image and viewer: "The Byzantine church itself is the picture space of the icons," as Otto Demus observed.[67] Processions had a spatial dimension in occupying a street, square, or building while carrying the gaze of participants and the spectators in the direction of the movement. By defining a path, processions are in a "state of prolonged liminality";[68] they are continually carving a division between the space of the procession and the space that has not yet been occupied or has just been vacated. As processions move, they ritually negotiate spatial boundaries.

As the fixed counterpart of Constantinople's ritual ceremonies, mosaics worked actively to preserve and reflect the links between earthly and divine order. While ceremonies exalt the emperor in spoken panegyrics acclaiming his victories and divine status, mosaics can serve as a visual panegyric to the emperor as God's earthly cohort. The writings of Victor Turner on ritual as work are pertinent to this dynamic role of mosaics within their sacred setting. According to Turner, in tribal societies what people do in the course of their rituals can be described as "work." The rituals themselves are a form of dramatic action that engages the entire community in solving a problem, dealing with a crisis, or serving another particular purpose for all who are involved. Liturgical rites marked by communal participation are considered to be hallmarks of "the work of the gods" in some societies, and include a full range of playful and innovative acts, such that "the essence of ritual appears to

be the multidimensionality of its symbols."[69] The Byzantines saw, and collectively and individually understood, the allusions and implications of mosaics with the kind of vision and insight we might attribute to a peregrine falcon or other raptor. One could say they had microvision when it came to picking up, sorting, and internalizing the visual stimuli presented by mosaics.[70] Every detail of the dramatic action depicted in mosaics held powerful meaning for a Byzantine audience. Absorption in the viewing of mosaics was an intense emotional and visual experience and, in psychological terms, a deeply centering and grounding one. The symbolic work accomplished by both processions and mosaics in their overlapping liturgical settings was in both cases an affirmation of a participant's place in the larger scheme of things, and reassurance that there is no conflict, only order.[71]

Mosaics performed a set of tasks as a ritual art. The success of their "work" is evident, for once the middle Byzantine mosaic program was codified in the ninth and tenth centuries, it persisted as a flexible system throughout the rest of Byzantine history and later. The perfection of this synthesis of visual and architectural expression, in which the mosaics and their setting became an entity, had taken place subtly sometime in the ninth century, in the search for a solution to a problem. Perhaps the church of the Theotokos of the Pharos was the first representative of this new fusion of design and decorative program, with the creative genius of the patriarch Photius behind it. As for the viewers' experience, we will never know exactly how ordinary Byzantines thought about the mosaics they encountered on the vaults and walls of churches, or precisely what they derived from the multidimensional experience of the Divine Liturgy, but it is clear that this experience was an authentic part of daily life. It could be said that the experience authenticated reality—the new reality that prevailed in the post-iconoclastic era.[72]

Thomas Mathews defines more precisely the viewer-involving impact of the mosaiced church on the worshipper as a transformative one: "The ultimate purpose of the liturgy is more than instruction and more than commemoration: it is transformation, and this I believe is the key to the meaning of the Pantokrator."[73] (fig. 1.29). The mystical transformation of the gifts into the body and blood of Christ, as parallel to Christ's Incarnation, finds its visual and conceptual enactment in the monumental image of the Annunciation by Gabriel to the Virgin Mary (fig. 1.30). The Middle Byzantine mosaic program represents the timeless religious truths of Orthodox dogma as they are celebrated in the sacred space of the church. Just as the participant was incorporated into the communion of saints, through his or her faith the believers "entered a world of images" when they entered the church.[74] In ritual terms, the experience of a mosaiced church by a Byzantine worshipper was to remake his or her reality.[75] What was the process through which the worshipper shaped or reshaped his or her world, or, to put it another way, how was the ritual content of mosaic decoration experienced? In addressing these

questions, we return to the eleventh-century mosaic programs in Greece and the specific ways in which they worked ritually to authenticate an observer's reality.

On entering the narthex of the Katholikon of Hosios Loukas, the Byzantine worshipper encounters a huge, bust-length portrait of Christ blessing in the lunette over the Royal Door, at the entry into the nave (fig. 1.19). This mosaic and the viewer interact ritually, as Christ "speaks" through the words inscribed on the book he holds and his gesture of speech: "I am the light of the world; he who followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life" (John 8:12).[76] At the same time, the viewer's position in the space before the doorway links him or her to images in the vault overhead: the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist together with Christ in the lunette visually form a Deesis, the intercessory prayer addressed to Christ on behalf of humankind. The images thus work ritually to channel the viewer's experience toward the potential residing in his/her location in time and space; they impart a prevailing reality.[77]

Even before passing beneath the Blessing Christ image and into the naos, the worshipper sees, front and center, in the eastern apse over the sanctuary, the mosaic of the Virgin and Child (figs. 1.8 and 1.11). This image representing the Incarnation is a central one for Orthodox faith; after the ninth century it appeared in most churches, of which a majority were dedicated to the Theotokos. The mosaic put up in the apse of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul in 867 is likely to be the artistic model for this compelling dogmatic image that combines the paradox of motherhood and virginity with divinity.[78] Her jeweled throne and footstool can be seen as reflecting imperial appropriation and connotations; the image's prototype performs ritually as the ultimate intercessor, as she assures protection and victories for the emperor and for all Orthodox Christians.[79]

Once in the main space of the church under the dome, the worshipper's attention is drawn upward by light from the windows around the base of the dome to confront the Pantokrator, the all-powerful "light of life," as he looks down through the rainbow-oculus in the apex of the dome.[80] The Pantokrator at Daphni serves as our best surviving example of this riveting image (fig. 1.29). Under the gaze of the Pantokrator the viewers tremble, for they have come fully into their encounter with the Divine. In the partaking of Holy Communion in the space beneath this image their transformation is complete.[81] Starting with the Pantokrator in the dome, the hierarchical system of images unfolds downward and outward, ritually situating and encompassing the viewer within a comprehensible whole.[82]

From the center of the naos, the narrative scenes in the squinches surround the worshipper. These scenes are reminders of the life of Christ on earth. They also correspond to the greatest feasts and commemorations of the liturgical year. It has been demonstrated that the Byzantines

also might see them as parallels to imperial victories, and that the scenes contain a more ideological message as well.[83] This cycle of great feasts developed in the context of the elaborate ceremonies of the imperial court, including banquets and acclamations, which shaped the iconography of these scenes—hence the inclusion of jeweled thrones and footstools, crowned kings, royal gifts, elegant furniture and courtly objects, golden or imperial robes and mantles, and red shoes.[84] All scenes contain elements to remind us of not only their festal and liturgical connotations but also their imperial ones: the Annunciation (March 25, in the Western calendar), now lost; Nativity (December 25); Presentation of Christ in the Temple (February 2); and Baptism (January 6). The narrative scenes on the walls of the narthex have their own set of connotations associated with the Easter liturgies: Washing of the Feet, Crucifixion, Anastasis, and Incredulity of Thomas. The Anastasis, the Easter image par excellence, celebrates the Resurrection. Here the risen Christ is seen triumphing over death (hell) and time (Adam and Eve), with the prophet kings, David and Solomon, in attendance. Christ wears a robe of solid gold with a white cloak, garments like those reserved for the emperor (fig. 1.22).

The narrative scenes have associations with imperial ideology, symbolism, and practices. Liturgical ceremonies of special splendor were enacted not only on feast days but also on the forefeasts and afterfeasts of these events, as seen in the *Book of Ceremonies* and *Typikon of the Great Church*.[85] These observances all had their equivalent in monastic settings around the empire; for example, the Washing of the Feet, found on the north wall of the narthex in all three of the Greek churches, reflects the monastic practice of washing of the monks' feet by the abbot of the monastery during the liturgy of Maundy Thursday. A later, fourteenth-century Byzantine source relates that the emperor acted the role of Christ in the Washing of the Feet when he washed the feet of twelve of the paupers of Constantinople on Holy Thursday.[86] As we have seen in the *Book of Ceremonies*, liturgical rituals included processions in which the emperor, his family, and the court regularly participated. These combined the honoring or carrying of relics and icons with acclamations directed to the emperor.[87] The imperial medium of mosaic and the imperialized iconography link these monumental icons to imperial practice of the capital.[88] Acclamations at some ceremonies made the tie explicit, as, for example, those staged by the Green Faction on Epiphany, or the Feast of Lights, celebrating the Baptism, on January 6:

> He who is luminous in the Holy Spirit has been baptized with terrestrial water and has given the illumination of baptism to mankind. Let Christ, who has accomplished these things for love of mankind, make your imperial power, during an uninterrupted series of years, reign happily over the Romans.

And the Blue faction:

> He who has crushed the head of the dragons in the waves of the Jordan, O benefactors, may he crush at your feet the head of the barbarians. Benefactors crowned by God, let the thrice-holy Trinity multiply your victories.[89]

The narrative images worked ritually to affirm an imperial ideology and legitimation of power in churches throughout the empire, as in the capital. Henry Maguire has noted: "The episodes from the life of Christ that received emphasis at Nea Moni were also ones that were important in imperial liturgies and panegyrics, or that had a particular relevance to imperial victory."[90] Mosaics are not representing imperial power; they are themselves a form of ritualization of power relations.[91]

A world of images resides in the depictions of saints. In the high niches in the eastern part of the church and recesses of the four main piers are individual portraits of the great church fathers. Below, on the arches, groin vaults and arched lunettes are the bishops, priests, and early deacons (fig. 1.17). In the intrados of the main arches and pendentives below the dome are seventeen holy warriors. Lower down and on the west side of the naos are the monks, hermits, abbots, and healers, the "hosioi" (fig. 1.18).[92] Dozens more appear on the walls and vaults of the narthex, including twelve female saints forming two groups on the west wall and, in addition, the Martyrs of Persia and the Twelve Apostles (figs. 1.23 and 1.24). This world of images encompasses, supports, and reassures the viewer. In ritual terms, it performs even more personally and on a more individual basis. These individual portraits of saints are the most basic and hard-working component of church decoration: the sanctoral cycle. To the worshipper, they represent a reality that comes from an internalization of Orthodox beliefs and values; each venerated personage depicted plays a part in a deeply held system of beliefs.[93] These appear as the paradigms of sanctity—those whose exemplary lives are known from their vitae, the synaxaria and menologia, and from their ritual commemorations throughout the year according to the typika of monasteries. These are the saints after whom one's children were named. This choir of saints, in addition to Christ and the Virgin Mary, represents the foundation of Orthodoxy, in a shared cultural and ideological system. The actions pursued in honoring these saints—readings at feast days, kissing of their icons, offering of prayers, candles, and processions and memorials at their shrines or before their relics—all are constituted ritually and collectively as a sharing of communally constructed beliefs.[94] In this way, mosaic portraits of saints act as ritual triggers. Those represented become symbolically present and "real."[95] The rituals and beliefs inspired by the choir of saints helped provide a sense of cohesion and unity within Byzantine culture.

CONCLUSION

A ritual approach helps refine our understanding of the ways in which the world of images of the Byzantine church, in particular images of the saints, provided structure, clarity, and, for the viewer, a sense of his or her place within the prevailing world view. One of the most indispensable facets of the "work" of mosaics was to indicate, through the medium as well as its messages, "where power lies." This ritual art originated inside the circle of palace and patriarchate, and served to reflect an ideal vision of God's kingdom on earth. The precious aesthetic and proliferation of images celebrated the importance of powerful imagery in this vision. Far from being a passive backdrop for liturgical actions, mosaics were an active and malleable force that promoted ideas critical to the survival of the ruling house. We have been concerned in this book not so much with defining what mosaics mean as *how* they mean and what they *do*. The glory of the medium of mosaics complemented the glory of God's earthly dwelling. Working to this end, mosaics were identified with the ruling dynasty and its legitimation. They served to unite an empire, conveying messages too nuanced to articulate in any other way.[96]

The Middle Byzantine program originated in Constantinople during the years following the end of Iconoclasm, under the influence, or perhaps even personal guidance, of the patriarch Photius, during a critical time of reintegration and rejuvenation of the society. Dozens of these newly configured schemes were first put up in the Imperial Palace and in the new or renovated chapels and churches around the city, if the *Vita Basilii* is any indication. The standardization of dogmatic compositions, such as Christ enthroned, the Virgin and Child enthroned, and later the Pantokrator, may have been due to the direct initiative of the patriarch Photius in conjunction with the emperors Michael III and Basil I. The flexible Middle Byzantine program of church decoration, once established, was promoted under Leo VI and Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus.

The mosaics of the Chrysotriklinos and Pharos church were among the first of Photius's projects, installed in the 850s and 860s, a little more than a decade after the end of Iconoclasm. The visionary patriarch believed in the primacy of sight and the power of images to focus and express visually a message conflating sacred and imperial power and ideology. Textual and archaeological evidence reveals the character and appearance of these now lost buildings as a deliberate fusion of architectural and artistic expression, and confirm that the medium of mosaic was a conscious choice as the premier medium for expressing imperial ideology. The colorful, value-laden, symbolic, and light-reflecting qualities of mosaics all helped them deliver their powerful impact. Rituals and ritualization of life kept the dominant ideology expounded by them in full view of the populace, both in the ceremonies of the court and in

highly visible processions that circulated on almost a daily basis through the streets of the city. Ritualization of mosaics provided an "arena for the embodiment of power relations."[97] The construction under Michael III and then the Macedonian House of a civic setting replete with ceremonials and mosaiced churches was a most effective means of affirming the new, post-iconoclastic reality of Byzantine belief and practice. The new era matured as a "renaissance" in all forms of creativity, and took hold in this period of prosperity, stability, and confidence. The Middle Byzantine mosaic programs surviving today in Greece are tangible reminders of the successful effort of Byzantium's politico-religious power relations to forge a cultural identity with a viable future, at a particular time and in a particular place.

APPENDIX I

Comprehensive List of Saints in Mosaics and Frescoes of Hosios Loukas, Nea Moni, and Daphni

HL	Hosios Loukas, ca. 1000
HLC	Hosios Loukas Crypt, ca. 1000
NM	Nea Moni, Chios, 1042–1055
D	Daphni, ca. 1100

Aaron D
Aberkios D
Abibos (with Samonas and Gourias) D
Abramios HL, HLC
Achillios HL
Adrianos HL
Agapios HL
Agatha HL
Agathangelos HL
Akindynos HL, D (with Persian martyrs: Pegasios, Anempodistos, Elpediphoros, Aphthonios)
Alypius HL, NM
Ananias HL
Anastasia HL
Anempodistos HL, D
Andrew HL, HLC, NM

Andronikos D
Aniketas HL, NM, HLC
Anne NM
Anthimos HL, D
Antipas HL
Anthony HL, NM
Aphthonios HL, D
Archeilios HL
Arethas HL, NM, HLC
Arsenios HL, NM
Athanasius HL, HLC
Auxentios HL, D, NM
Bacchus NM, D
Barbara HL
Barnabas HL
Bartholomew HL, HLC, NM
Basil HL
Basiliskos HL
Bitas HL
Catherine HL
Christopher HL
Clement HL
Constantine HL
Cyprian HL
Cyricus HL
Cyril of Alexandria HL
Cyrus HL (with John)
Damian HL
Daniel HL, NM, D
Daniel the Stylite NM
Daniel of Skete HL
David D, HL
Demetrius HL, HLC
Dionysios the Areopagite HL
Dorotheos HL, HLC
Eleutherios HL, D
Elijah/Elias D, HL
Elisaios/Elisha D, HL
Elpidiphoros HL, D
Ephraim HL, NM
Eugenia HL
Eugenios NM, D, HL
Euphemia HL
Eustathius HLC, HL
Eustratios NM, D, HL
Euplos D

Euthymios HL, NM
Ezekiel NM, D, HL
Gabriel HL, NM, D
George HL, HLC
Gregory the Theologian (of Nazianzus) HL
Gregory of Armenia (the Illuminator) HL
Gregory of Agrigentum D
Gregory of Nyssa HL
Gregory Thaumatourgos HL, D
Gurias D
Habakkuk D, HL
Helena HL
Hierotheos HL
Hilarion HL
Ignatius Theophorus, of Antioch HL
Ioannikios HL, HLC
Irene HL
Isaiah NM, D, HL
James HL, HLC, NM
James the Less, Adelphotheos HL
Jason HL
Jeremiah NM, D, HL
Joachim NM
Joel D, HL
John Kalibytes HL, NM
John Klimakos HL, NM
John Kolobos HL
John the Baptist, the Forerunner HL, D
John the Theologian HL, HLC, NM
John (with Cyrus) HL
Jonah D, HL
Juliana HL
Julitta HL
Kleopas HL
Kosmas HL
Kyriakos HL
Lawrence D
Loukas Gurnikiotes HL
Luke HL, HLC, NM
Luke of Steiris HL, HLC
Makarios of Egypt HL, HLC
Malachias D, HL
Mardarios NM, D, HL
Marina HL
Mark HL, HLC, NM
Martinianos HL

Matthew HL, HLC, NM
Maximos the Confessor HL, HLC, NM
Menas NM, HL
Merkurios HL, HLC
Micah D, HL
Michael HL, NM, D
Mokios HL
Moses D, HL
Neilon HL
Neophytos HL
Nestor HL, HLC
Nikanor HL
Nicephorus HL
Niketas HL, HLC, NM
Nicholas HL, D
Nicholas Neos HL
Nikon Metanoites HL
Orestes NM, D, HL
Pachomios HL, NM
Panteleimon HL, NM
Paul HL, HLC, NM
Peter HL, HLC, NM
Petronia HL
Philip HL, HLC, NM
Philotheos HL, HLC
Photios HLC
Pigasios HL, D
Poimen HL
Polycarp HL
Probos D
Prochoros HL
Prokopios HL, HLC
Raphael HL
Sabas HL, NM
Samonas D
Sergius NM, D
Silas HL
Silvester HL, D
Simon HL, HLC, NM
Sisoes HL, HLC
Solomon D, HL
Sosipatros HL
Spiridon HL
Stephen HL, NM, D
Stephanos Neos (d. 764) HL, NM
Sylvester HL

Symeon the Elder NM
Symeon the Younger NM
Tarachos D
Thalalaios HL
Thecla HL
Theodore Stratilates HL, HLC, NM
Theodore Studites HL, NM
Theodore Tiron HL
Theodosios HL, HLC, NM
Theoktistos HL, HLC
Theopistos HL
Thomas HL, HLC, NM
Timothy HL
Tryphon HL
Uriel HL
Vincentius (with Victor) HL, HLC
Victor (with Vincentius) HL
Zacharias HL, D
Zechariah D, HL
Zephanius D, HL

APPENDIX II

Comprehensive List of Saints in Cappadocian Frescoes

K Kılıçlar Kilise (Göreme Chapel 29) ca. 900–950
A Ayvalı Kilise (Gülü Dere Chapel 4) 913–920
OT Tokalı Kilise, Old Church, 900–910
NT Tokalı Kilise, New Church, 950–960
C Çavuşin, 965–969
E El Nazar, ca. 990
(40Ms = Forty Martyrs of Sebaste)

Abdias K, A
Abibas A
Abraham A, E
Aeithalas NT
Agape OT
Agapios A, E
Aggaus K
Aggias (40Ms) NT
Ailianos (40Ms) NT
Aetios (40Ms) NT
Akakios (40Ms) NT
Akepsimas NT
Akindynos A
Alexandros K

Alexandros (40Ms) NT
Alypios NT
Amos K, OT, C
Amphilochios (Ikonium) A
Anastasia A, OT
Aniketos K
Antonios A, NT
Aphthonios A, NT
Arsenios A, NT
Athanasius of Alexandria K, NT
Athanasius (40Ms) NT
Athenogenes (Pidachthoe) NT
Bacchus K
Barbara A, NT, E
Basil of Caesarea C
Blasios K, NT, E
Boukolos (Smyrna) NT
Catherine OT, NT, E
Christina A
Christophoros OT, E
Clement (Ankyra) A, NT
Cliont A
Constantine A, OT, NT, C, E
Cyrillos (40Ms) NT
Damianos A
David K
Daniel OT, C, E
Demetrius A
Dometianos OT, NT
Dometianos (40Ms) NT
Domnos (40Ms) NT
Eirenarchos NT
Ekdikios (40Ms) NT
Eleutherios (Rome) NT
Eliades (40Ms) NT
Elpidios K
Elijah E
Epimachos K
Epiphanios (Constantia) NT, C
Eudikios (40Ms) NT
Eugraphos NT
Eunoikos (40Ms) NT
Euphemia A
Euphrosyne A
Eupraxia A
Eustathios K, A, E

Euthymios NT
Eutychios (40Ms) NT
Eutychios (Constantinople) NT
Ezechiel K, A, NT, E
Flavios (40Ms) NT
Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (some of them) A, NT, C
Gabriel K, A, NT, C
Gaios (40Ms) NT
Georgios K, NT
Germanos (Constantinople) NT, C
Gorgonios (40Ms) NT
Gregory of Akrita NT
Gregory of Nazianzus K
Gregory of Nyssa K
Habakkuk K, C
Helena A, OT, NT, C, E
Herakleios (40Ms) NT
Hermogenios NT
Hieron A, OT
Hilanos (40Ms) NT
Hosea K, A, OT
Hypatios (Gangrai) K, A, NT, C
Ignatius (Antioch) K
Iles (40Ms) NT
Isaak E
Isaiah K, A, E
Jacob E
Jeremiah K, A, OT, NT, C
Joannes Eleimon (the Almsgiver) (Alexandria) NT
Joel K, A, OT
John the Theologian K
Jonah A, OT, E
Juliana E
Julitta A
Justus K, A
Kallinikos K
Kandidas (40Ms) NT
Kandidos E
Kapiton K
Kattidianos E
Kattidios OT, E
Klaudios (40Ms) NT
Konon A
Ktemon K
Kyprianos K
Kyriakos NT

Kyriakos (40Ms) NT
Kyrion (40Ms) NT
Lazaros, bishop NT
Leo (Rome) NT
Leontios (40Ms) NT
Leontios (Catania) K, NT
Leukios (with Thyrsos) NT
Luke K
Lukianos A
Lusimachos (40Ms) NT
Malachias K
Mamas K, E
Marina OT
Mark K
Mary of Egypt NT
Matthew K
Meletios K
Meletios (Antioch) NT
Meliton (40Ms) NT
Menas NT
Merkurios K, E
Metrophanes (Constantinople) NT
Micah K, OT
Michael K, A, NT, C
Moses
Nahum K, A, OT
Nicholas of Myra A
Nikandros A, NT
Niketas K, A, E
Nicephorus K
Olympia A
Orestes of Tyana K, A, NT
Ouales (40Ms) NT
Pachomios A
Panteleimon OT
Parthenios (Lampsakos) NT
Pausikakos (Synada) NT
Pegasios A, NT
Peter A
Petros (Alexandria) NT
Phlabios (40Ms) NT
Philoktemon (40Ms) NT
Phokas K, A, E
Photios K, OT
Platon K
Polykarpos K

Proklos (Constantinople) K, A, NT, C
Prokopios K
Raphael C
Sergius K
Sakerdon (40Ms) NT
Severianos (40Ms) NT
Sisinios (40Ms) NT
Smaragdos (40Ms) NT
Solomon K
Sophonias OT, E
Sophronios K
Sozon E
Spyridon (Trimythente) K, A
Symeon Stylites NT
Tarasios (Constantinople) K, NT
Thecla A
Theodoros Stratelates A, OT
Theodote K
Theodotos K
Theodotos (Ankyra) NT
Theodoulos (40Ms) NT
Theopistos A, E
Theophilos K
Theopiste A
Thomas A
Thyrsos NT
Timotheos NT
Tryphon K, A
Uriel C
Vales (40Ms) NT
Valerios (40Ms) NT
Victor NT
Vincentius NT
Zacharias K, A, OT
Zechariah OT
Zenon NT
Zosimas NT

APPENDIX III

Churches Built by Leo VI (886–912) in Constantinople

Saint Anna, in the Imperial Palace, near empress's apartments, with a dome on four columns (Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, 37)

Oratory dedicated to Saint Anna at Pege (ibid.)

Kauleas Monastery, built for Patriarch Anthony II Kauleas (893–899), with a Christ mosaic in the dome along with saints (ibid., 39–41)

Saint Barbara, a chapel in the palace (ibid., 57)

Saint Demetrios, in the palace, near the Pharos, with square plan, four columns, mosaics in the vaults, angels surrounding Christ. Mentioned in *De cer* 1.21 (ibid., 91–92)

Monastery of Euthymius, spiritual father of Leo VI, dedicated in 890, located near the Stoudios Monastery, which "surpassed the older monastery in beauty" (ibid., 116–117)

Monastery and church for Stylianus Zaoutzes, dedicated in 895, had a cupola with a bust of Christ; also images of angels, saints, the Virgin, and scenes from life of Christ (ibid., 132)

Saint Theophano, near Church of the Holy Apostles (ibid., 245)

Monastery of Saint Lazaros, housing relics of Lazaros and Mary Magdalene, built in 899–900, "a very beautiful church" (ibid., 298–300)

Monastery of Constantine Lips, built in 907 and dedicated in the presence of Leo VI (ibid., 307)

APPENDIX IV

Buildings of Basil I (867–886) According to *Vita Basilii*, ca. 950 (Ševčenko, *Vita Basilii*, chs. 76–94, pp. 259–309)

Hagia Sophia: western arch repaired and new mosaics of Virgin and Child, Peter and Paul; increased endowment; contributed oil for lamps
Holy Apostles: buttressed; structural repair; made beautiful and new
Pege, church of Theotokos: "renewed beauty," "made more splendid than before"
Virgin of Sigma Church: rebuilt
St. Stephen at Aurelianae: rebuilt from the foundations
St. John the Forerunner at Strobilaia: rebuilt from the foundations
St. John the Baptist at Makedonianae: mostly rebuilt
St. Philip, apostle: repaired
St. Luke Evangelist: restored
St. Mokios: large church rebuilt from ruins
St. Andrew, apostle, west of St. Mokios: rebuilt
St. Romanus: rebuilt from foundations
St. Anne in Deuteron: repaired
St. Demetrius: renewed
St. Aemilianus, near Theotokos at Rhabdos: buttressed
St. Nazarius, martyr: totally rebuilt
Resurrection of Christ, church at the Portico of Domninus: repaired

St. Anastasia, martyr, at Portico of Domninus: repaired, new stone roof
St. Plato, martyr:repaired
Sts. Hesperus and Zoe, glorious martyrs: rebuilt
St. Acacius, martyr, at Heptascalon: reinforced, repaired
Prophet Elijah at Petrion: rebuilt
Nea Ekklesia in Palace, dedicated to Christ, Gabriel, Elijah the Tishbite, Virgin Mary and Nicholas, chief among bishops: built anew, beautiful materials, mosaics and silks; five domes with gold mosaics; brass-covered outsides of domes; two fountains of atrium with pine cones and colonnettes; barrel-vaulted portico with feats of martys depicted in vault
Tzykanisterion (playing field) built
Treasury and Sacristy of Nea = structures west of Tzykanisterion
Garden, "New Eden" = Mesokipion

In the Palace: "Surpassed anyone else previously recorded" in churches and imperial residences
Elijah the Tishbite: refurbished, rebuilt; had mosaic ceiling
- Chapel of St. Clement, martyr: gave head of Clement and other martyrs' relics
- Church of God the Savior: built; "incredible, costly magnificence; sumptuous"; "wealth of India" (jewels?); "image of Christ in enamel on iconostasis beam"
- Chapel of St. Paul
- Chapel of St. Peter, near Marcian's portico
- Chapel of St. Michael
- Chapel of Theotokos

Residences in the imperial palace:
- Kainourgion, built from the foundations: sixteen columns; reliefs; with gold mosaics of dome and other lavish decorations; in dome imperial portraits of whole imperial family, including children, generals offering captive towns, Herculean labors, and victory prize bestowed by God
- Bedchamber; peacock pavement; rivers, eagles, flowers; emperor and Empress Eudocia, their children; cross, stars on walls; long inscriptions
- Pentakoubiklon, by the portico of Marcian = dining hall
- The Eagle (Aetos), imperial residence rises up high, east of the Chrysotriklinos, where the Church of the Theotokos is located
- Chapel of the Theotokos Logos
- Chapel of St. John the Evangelist, near the Monothyros Gate
- Walkway that extends to the Pharos church
- Treasury
- Vestiarium
- Palace Bath above the Phiale fountain

Further Constructions:
- Other Palaces:
  - Mangana
  - New House
  - Pegai
  - Hieria

Other Churches at Constantinople:
- Shrine of Prophet Elijah
- Shrine of Prophet Elisha
- St. Constantine
- Church of the Forty Martyrs
- Two churches of the Theotokos
- Church of Prophet Elijah at Hieria
- Cistern at Palace at Hieria
- Cistern at Magnaura Palace
- Cistern near the dining hall of Justinian and the Terrace
- Virgin Mary at the Forum of Constantine
- Theotokos of the Pharos
- Chalkoprateia: heightened
- St. Michael in Tzeros: restored
- St. Lawrence at Pulcherianae: rebuilt
- "About 100 other churches, almshouses, inns, hospitals, old age homes, and monasteries"
- Churches in suburbs:
  - St. John the Theologian at Hebdomon
  - St. John the Baptist at Hebdomon
  - St. Peter at Rhegion
  - St. Callinicus, martyr, by Bathyrsus
  - St. Phocas
  - St. Michael on the Bosphorus at Sosthenion

APPENDIX V

Buildings of Justinian I (527–565) In and Around Constantinople, in Procopius, *On the Buildings*, Book 1

i Hagia Sophia: rebuilt
ii Column of Justinian with bronze statue at top in Augustaeum
  Hagia Eirene: rebuilt
  Hospice of Samson: rebuilt
  Hospice in House of Isidorus
  Hospice in House of Arcadius
  "Unable to count number of shrines (churches) built in city"
iii Churches to Virgin Mary built all over empire
  In Constantinople:
    Blachernai, Church of the Virgin
    Pege, Church of the Virgin
    (both stand near the walls as "guardians of the city")
    Hieron, church of Theotokos
    St. Anna in Deuteron
    St. Zoe, martyr: built church
    Archangel Michael: rebuilt/replaced with huge church
iv Church of Peter and Paul, near Hormisdas Palace: built
  Sts. Sergius and Bacchus: newly built
  Another adjacent unnamed church
  Church of the Holy Apostles: pulled down and enlarged
  Church of Acacius: rebuilt from foundations

St. Plato: built
St. Mokios: built
St. Thyrsus: built
St. Theodore at Rhesium
St. Thecla near Julian Harbor
St. Theodota in Hebdomon
St. Agathonicus: magnificent church built

v Many other shrines at Anaplus and along the Golden Horn
Harbors built

vi Golden Horn lined by churches:
St. Lawrence: remodeled
Sts. Priscus and Nicholas, near Blachernae: new construction (built on a jetty over the water)
Sts. Cosmas and Damian: remodeled magnificently
Other side of Golden Horn: St. Anthimus, newly built

vii St. Eirene, martyr (Forty Martyrs of Sebaste buried there)

viii Archangel Michael at Anaplus: rebuilt
Archangel Michael at Brochi: rebuilt
St. John the Baptist at Hebdomon
Church of the Virgin: restored

ix Monastery of Metanoia
St. Panteleimon: rebuilt
Poor house at Argyronium
Archangel (Michael?) near Hieron
St. Tryphon on Pelargus St.
Sts. Menas and Menaeus in Hebdomon
St. Ia at the Golden Gate: restored

x Chalke Gate of the Palace: built and decorated with mosaics in the dome showing victorious battles, emperor and empress, generals, senate, etc.
Baths of Zeuxippos
Stoas rebuilt up to the Forum of Constantine
Palace of Hormisdas
Augustaeum
Senate building
Justinian's Palace

xi Arcadianae Baths
Water supply: public works, cisterns, palaces
Hospice at Stadium

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Diez and Demus *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece: Hosios Loukas and Daphni* (1931) and Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (1948) were pioneering works in Byzantine art and first recognized the importance of grouping and analyzing these three churches in terms of their mosaics.
2. See especially the books of Leslie Brubaker and John Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680–850: The Sources* (2001) and *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680–850: A History* (2011), in which the record is reexamined in regard to the exaggerations and biases injected into records by the "victors" in the struggle of Iconoclasm (see esp. *History*, 16–17 and, in general, Ch. 3 on the official policy of Iconoclasm, promulgated at the Council of Hieria of 754, during the reign of Constantine V [741–775]).
3. See Maguire, *Icons of Their Bodies*, 100–106 and 144–145 for the post-iconoclastic practice that required accuracy as to the identity of an image in order to gain access to its supernatural power.
4. On the comprehensive message delivered by the Middle Byzantine church programs, see Mathews, *Clash of Gods*, 142–143. On the nuances of meaning conveyed by gesture and attitude of figures, see Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 110–112.
5. See, for example, Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters*.
6. See Cameron, "Language of Images," for a discussion of the factors surrounding the rise of Christian icons. See Brubaker and Haldon, *History*, 50–66.
7. See Brubaker and Haldon, *History*, 117–121.
8. For an introduction and a useful selection of relevant texts in translation, see Mango, *Art*, 149–177. Brubaker and Haldon, *Sources* summarizes the building activity and decoration that did take place from 680 to 850 (3–36). See also Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Ch. 4, "The Iconoclast Controversy," 146–184, for a useful overview. See also Krautheimer, *Rome*, esp. "Rome between East and West," Ch. 4, 89–142, on the relation between mosaic decoration and painting in Italy in the early medieval period when Byzantium was in the throes of Iconoclasm.

9. See Brubaker and Haldon, *History*, 199–247; the execution of the monk Stephen the Younger is one exception (235–236).
10. See Brubaker and Haldon, *History*, 201–202 and fig. 12.
11. See Brenk, *Apse*, esp. 57–81, and Spieser, "Representation of Christ in the Apses," 63–73, esp. the chart in fig. 1 on p. 64 with an iconographic analysis of early Christian apse compositions from 400 CE to the eighth century.
12. See the classic works on the surviving churches in Ravenna: Simson, *Sacred Fortress*; and on Saint Catherine's at Mount Sinai: Forsyth and Weitzmann, *Monastery of Saint Catherine*; see also Cormack, *Writing in Gold*, 50–94, on Saint Demetrius in Thessaloniki , and Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 211–295.
13. Krautheimer, *Rome*, 93–94 and figs. 71–73.
14. Ibid., 93–94.
15. Ibid., 41 and fig. 36.
16. See Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 36.184 and 189; Vitruvius, *De architectura*, 7.1.3–4. See also Dunbabin, *Mosaics*, 257, 270, and Ch. 17, "Techniques and Procedures," 279–290.
17. See Dunbabin, *Mosaics*, 236–253; see esp. on the Golden House of Nero, 240–241, esp. 248–249 and figs. 263–264 on the use of floor mosaic techniques, using marble tesserae, in the vault of Santa Costanza. See Ling, *Ancient Mosaics*, 98–112, esp. 103–104 on wall mosaics in the House of Neptune and Amphitrite at Herculaneum, where wall mosaics mimic wall paintings of the Fourth Style, and in baths and palaces where they were used for vault decoration (105).
18. Dunbabin, *Mosaics*, 238, 280.
19. See Janes, *God and Gold*, 2–8, 10–12, on the aesthetic and symbolism of gold-ground mosaics, along with conceptual issues of brilliance and religious experience in socio-anthropological terms.
20. Ibid., 56 and n262; for an analysis of the symbolism of Early Christian mosaics and the Christian and biblical associations of the house of God with wealth and treasure, see 105–139.
21. Maguire, *Nectar and Illusion*, 42–47, shows how iconoclasts had even suppressed images drawn from nature of living things, such as birds, beasts, and vines, in order to avoid charges of worshipping creation rather than the creator. Apse compositions at Hagia Irene in Istanbul and Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki are witnesses to the severity and austerity of the resulting imagery.

CHAPTER 1

1. Schultz and Barnsley, *Monastery of Saint Luke*; Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*; Diez and Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics*; Millet, *Monastère de Daphni*; Mouriki, *Mosaics of Nea Moni*; Stikas, *Oikodomikon Chronikon*. See also Maguire, "Cycle of Images," and Connor, *Art and Miracles*. For the most useful collection of articles on Byzantine ecclesiastical art, see Safran, *Heaven on Earth*. Since the present work has a different approach and different aims from any of the valuable handbooks we have relied on for so long, I will not undertake to point out these differences or differences of opinion, or presume to make value judgments on any of the aforementioned publications.
2. See Connor and Connor, *Life and Miracles of Saint Luke*, 84–87, 90–99, 108–113; Maguire, "Cycle of Images," 124–127; and Connor, "Hosios Loukas." See also Chatzidakis-Bacharas, *Peintures murales*, 109.
3. It is outside the scope of this book to argue for a more specific date for Hosios Loukas. A summary of some of the arguments concerning the dating of the complex can be found in Oikonomides, "First Century," and Connor, *Art and Miracles*, 82–83, and "Hosios Loukas," 293–295 and notes 3–8.
4. See Maguire, "Mosaics of Nea Moni," esp. 206–208; C. Bouras, *Nea Moni*, 21–28.
5. Maguire, "Mosaics of Nea Moni," 207: A direct connection with the capital has been established through a comparison of architectural details, confirming that it was built by masters who came from Constantinople. Mango, "Monuments de l'architecture," 351–365, esp. 364; Demangel and Mamboury, "Quartier

des Manganes," 19–37; unfortunately we have no record of the makeup of the mosaic decoration of Saint George of Mangana.

6. Diez and Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics*, 109; see also the MA thesis of Carolyn Anne Loessel, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 1967: "The Style of the Mosaics of Daphni."
7. For a contextualization of the architecture of the monastery, see Connor, *Art and Miracles*, 68–83.
8. The design is also referred to as Greek-cross octagon design; see Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 409–414.
9. See also Connor, *Art and Miracles*, fig. 2.
10. For the sculptural decoration of the Theotokos Church, see L. Bouras, *Gluptos diakosmos*.
11. See Ousterhout, "Holy Space," for an excellent synopsis of Middle Byzantine church architecture, esp. 92–110.
12. The earliest known cross-in-square church, dated to the early ninth century, has been recognized in the Fatih Camii (Hagios Stephanos?) at Trilye, on the south shore of the Sea of Marmora; see Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium*, 6–7 and 12–13. On Middle and Late Byzantine architecture and liturgical space see Ousterhout, "Holy Space," esp. 92–108.
13. The first church at the monastery was completed in haste in order to proceed with work on the second, according to the vita of the saint (110–111; see above, note 2). This offers a probable explanation for the lack of monumental decoration.
14. Diez and Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics*.
15. See Mathews, "Transformation Symbolism."
16. Over the arch of the prothesis, from Psalms 26:6: "I will wash mine hands in innocency. So will I compass thine altar, O Lord." And over the arch of the diaconicon, from Psalms 26:8: "Lord I have loved the comeliness of thy house, and the place where thine honor dwelleth." For the transcribed Greek of these inscriptions see Schultz and Barnsley, *Monastery of Saint Luke*., 56–58).
17. See *ODB*, s.v. "Pentecost," 1626–1627, for the liturgical meaning of Pentecost.
18. For a discussion of these placements see Maguire, "Cycle of Images," 134–136 and figs. 5.11 and 5.12.
19. For Loukas, see Connor, "Hosios Loukas," and for Nikon, see Sullivan, *Life of Nikon*.
20. See Nelson, "Discourse of Icons," esp. 147.
21. See Connor, *Women of Byzantium*, 194–197 and pls. 13 and 14.
22. See Chatzidakis-Bacharas, *Peintures murals*.
23. Ibid. According to Chatzidakis-Bacharas the profusion of saints in these two chapels reflects efforts to compile and establish iconographies for the synaxarial lives of saints.
24. See Connor, *Art and Miracles*.
25. See James, "Monks, Monastic Art," for a discussion of questions arising from the proliferation of saints' portraits in the three Greek churches, esp. 165–171.
26. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 386–387; C. Bouras, *Nea Moni*. See also Ousterhout, "Rebuilding the Temple" for Constantine Monomachus's patronage in rebuilding the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and the combination of local Arab and Constantinopolitan workshops participating in this undertaking. He proposes possible Islamic influence in the domed octagon plans encountered in the eleventh century (77–78).
27. Compare, for example, C. Bouras, *Nea Moni*, fig. 56, with Schultz and Barnsley, *Monastery of Saint* Luke, pl. 5.
28. See C. Bouras, *Nea Moni*, 78–82.
29. See Ousterhout, "Originality," on the differences between Nea Moni and other eleventh-century foundations as well as certain awkwardnesses in its architectural design (50–55).
30. See Mouriki, *Mosaics of Nea Moni*, I:34–35 for a description of the losses.
31. The circle created by the curving surfaces of squinches and conches contributes to an illusion of whirling ecstatic motion. This design exemplifies the "Byzantine

aesthetic desire to trigger an *ekstasis*" in a physical and symbolic "performance" of light and color (see Pentcheva, *Sensual Icon*, 151–154 and figs. 66–70).

32. See Ousterhout, "Originality," for comparisons of the distances between viewers and scenes of the feast cycle in the three Greek churches. See also Ousterhout, "Rebuilding the Temple," for insights on possible Arab influences from Jerusalem, where Constantine IX was involved in rebuilding Christian monuments. See Maguire, "Mosaics of Nea Moni," 208, for the impression made by the proximity of the expanses of gold ground in these mosaics. See also Pentcheva, *Sensual Icon*, 151–154.
33. See Mouriki, *Mosaics of Nea Moni*, I:38–39, for the most complete record of subjects and locations.
34. For a discussion of the architecture of all three of our churches, and in particular an assessment of the novel aspects of the elevation of Nea Moni, as well as the imperial overtones of its mosaic decoration, see Ousterhout, "Originality," esp. 52–60.
35. The mosaics at Daphni underwent heavy restoration in the 1890s; for a pre-earthquake photo of the Pantokrator and discussion of the slightly altered expression, see Maguire, "Cycle of Images,"136–138, fig. 5.14; see also Millet, *Monastère de Daphni*, fig. 48.
36. For the Greek, read by Lampakis in 1883 and still legible in 1892, see Millet, *Monastère de Daphni*, 76; according to Millet, this verse refers to the Temple of Jerusalem, and appeared similarly in the mosaic inscriptions in the New Church (Nea) of Basil I in Constantinople, on the scrolls of the prophets; over the main apse at Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki; at Hosios Loukas; and at the Church of the Koimesis at Nicaea.
37. Included in the cycle are nine fixed feasts: Annunciation, Nativity, Baptism, Presentation in the Temple, Transfiguration, Birth of the Virgin, Presentation of the Virgin, and Dormition; the mobile feasts are Palm Sunday, Ascension, and Pentecost. A separate, movable cycle represents the Passion and Easter: Entry into Jerusalem, Washing of the Feet, Last Supper, Crucifixion, Deposition from the Cross, Burial and Resurrection, and Anastasis. A post-Easter scene frequently represented is the Incredulity of Thomas. The selection of scenes at different churches varies. See *ODB*, s.v. "Great Feasts," 868–869.
38. See Tronzo, "Mimesis."
39. See Mouriki, *Mosaics of Nea Moni*, II, figs. 171, 198; Connor, *Art and Miracles*, 42, 43, 62, 71, 119, fig. 93.
40. See Connor, *Art and Miracles*, 55 and 64.
41. See Papadopoulos, *Wandmalereien*, fig. 5; Tsitouridou, "Grabkonzeption," 438–440. The Last Judgement and Deesis are associated, since the Deesis can be seen as an abbreviated form of the Last Judgement.
42. See especially Boeck, "Simulating the Hippodrome." See also Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 251–259, in which he suggests that Hagia Sophia in Kiev exemplifies the "art diplomacy" of Constantine IX Monomachus; see also 256–259 on the technique for setting mosaics in a quick and efficient manner, and on the relationship between Hagia Sophia, Kiev, and other Byzantine churches, both lost and surviving.
43. See Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 253 and fig. 146.
44. See Ibid., 254–257, figs. 147 and 148; see also Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 164–195 on liturgical themes in church decoration, esp. 184–189 on the Communion of the Apostles; see Boeck, "Simulating the Hippodrome," esp. 285–286, on the connection of the orant Virgin in the apse to the orant Virgin that once appeared in the apse of the Church of the Theotokos of Blachernai.
45. Compare Mouriki, *Mosaics of Nea Moni*, II, pl. 1.
46. See *ODB*, s.v. "Ohrid, Monuments," 1514–1515; see also Djuriç, *Church of St. Sophia*, pl. II and figs. 1–5.
47. See Mouriki, *Mosaics of Nea Moni*, I:202; Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 251, cites the diameter of the dome of the Mangana as being 10 m.
48. See Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium*, 23–24, for the revised dating; see also Wharton, *Art of Empire*, 93–95, and Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 304–309.

49. See Wharton, *Art of Empire*, 95; Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 193–194 and fig. 107. It seems likely that this Ascension was modeled on the Ascension dome of the Pege church in Constantinople, known to have been rebuilt under Basil I.
50. See Mouriki, *Mosaics of Nea Moni*, II, figs. 274–279.
51. Mouriki, *Mosaics of Nea Moni*, I:187–189.
52. Djuriç, *St Sophia*, VII; figs. 1 and 9–19.
53. See Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 160 and pl. 89.
54. For the Greek text see Papahadjis, *Monuments de Thessalonike*, 40.
55. See Cormack, *Writing in Gold*, Ch. 4: "After Iconoclasm: The illusion of tradition," esp. 146–159.
56. The church was likely built in the late seventh or early eighth century. For the dating and a discussion of the changes to the apse mosaics, see Brubaker and Halden, *Iconoclast Era*, 21–22; see also Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 156–158 and fig. 87; Cormack, *Writing in Gold*, 142–143 and fig. 47; and Peers, *Subtle Bodies*, 42–43 and figs. 9 and 10.
57. See Diez and Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics*, fig. 112 and Mouriki, *Mosaics of Nea Moni*, figs. 335b and 339.
58. See Walter, *Art and Ritual*, 172.
59. See Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 258, for a description of mosaic technique that includes executing a fresco in the wet plaster before pressing the mosaic cubes into it. On links between Cappadocia and Constantinople, see Thierry, "De la datation," 419–424. For links between Cappadocia and Constantinople, in the design of built churches and in manuscript painting style, see Wharton, *Art of Empire*, 24–30; for a discussion of the bearing on the Middle Byzantine feast cycle of the paintings at Tokalı, see also Epstein, *Tokalı*, 44–49.
60. See Rodley, *Cave Monasteries*.
61. See *ODB*, s.v. "Cappadocia," 378–380; Thierry, "De la datation," 419–424.
62. See the pioneering work of Jerphanion, *Nouvelle province*; Thierry and Thierry, *Nouvelles églises*; and Rodley, *Cave Monasteries.*
63. See Cormack, "Byzantine Cappadocia," on stylistic and iconographic relationships with early Christian examples, as well as among the early Cappadocian church programs and with those in Italy (23–24).
64. We have chosen to look at the tenth-century churches rather than the well-known "column churches" of Göreme Valley, Elmalı, Çarıklı, and Karanlık (mid-eleventh-century), that imitate built churches in their columnar "supports" and "domes," and represent a later phase of Cappadocian church decoration. For the sometimes controversial dating of the Cappadocian churches, and for plans and photographs of all of the churches mentioned here, see Restle, *Byzantinische Wandmalerei*; see also Thierry, "De la datation"; Jolivet-Lévy , *La Cappadoce médiévale*; and Cormack, "Byzantine Cappadocia." For the most complete bibliography on the churches, see Jolivet-Lévy, *Cappadoce médiévale*, 393–398.
65. See Wharton, *Art of Empire*, 24–37.
66. For plans of all of these see Restle, *Byzantinische Wandmalerei*, I and II.
67. See Connor, "Female Saints," and Connor, "Hosios Loukas."
68. On the changed "positional meaning" and relationship of images to architecture after Iconoclasm, see Cormack, "Away from the Centre," esp. 154.
69. See Wharton, *Art of Empire*, 30, for the change in Cappadocian frescoes in the course of the tenth century, referred to as an "iconization" of composition.
70. See Walter, *Art and Ritual*, Ch. 5: "Official Imagery of the Byzantine Church," 164–195.

CHAPTER 2

1. The material for this chapter was first presented at the Thirty-Second Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, November 2006, University of Missouri–Saint Louis as "The Lost Mosaics of Constantinople and the Middle-Byzantine Program of Church Decoration," *Abstracts*, 58–59. Another version was published under the same name in *Anathemata Eortika: Studies in Honor of Thomas F. Mathews* (Connor, "Lost Mosaics"). Schultz and Barnsley, *Monastery of Saint*

Luke; Diez and Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics*; Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*; Stikas, *Oikodomikon Chronikon*; Mouriki, *Mosaics of Nea Moni*; Maguire, "Mosaics of Nea Moni." See also Chapter 1, note 1.

2. For example, see the numerous references to churches and their decoration of this time collected in Mango, *Art*, and Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*.
3. See, for example, Mango, *Homilies of Photius*, Homily XVII:286–296: "Thus, even in her images does the Virgin's grace delight, comfort and strengthen us!" (290).
4. Brubaker and Haldon, *Sources*, note what one is tempted to see as an evolutionary process in the appearance of small-scale, domed churches, with the dome supported on four columns, in the late eighth or early ninth century. The earliest example of this cross-in-square type is found in Trilye on the Sea of Marmora, but, as they note, "this was neither neat neither neat nor linear" as a process of change (7, and figs. 5–7).
5. See Ousterhout, "Holy Space," 97.
6. Wharton, *Art of Empire*, 1–11.
7. See Mango, *New Rome*, 208, for use of the term "New Jerusalem." For "Queen of Cities," see Connor and Connor, *Life and Miracles of Saint Luke*, Ch. 41.1–2: βασιλίδα τὴν πόλεων, meaning Constantinople.
8. Cormack, *Writing in Gold*, 141; see also Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*, 148–150, on connections between coin types and monumental imagery.
9. Take as examples the Russian Primary Chronicle in its description of the reaction to the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (see Geanakoplos, *Byzantium*,189–190); Rostef's account of Harun ibn Yahya's visit (see Vasiliev, "Harun," 154–162); Liudprand's account of his audience with the emperor Constantine VII (Liudprand, *Complete Works*): *Antapodosis*, Book V, 190; the crusader Robert de Clari's description of the city's riches (*The Conquest of Constantinople*, ed. E. H. McNeal [New York, 1936, 101–102]), or accounts of Russian pilgrims who passed through the city and described its shrines and relics (G. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* [Washington, DC, 1984]).
10. K. Weitzmann, in *Geistige Grundlagen und Wesen der Makedonischen Renaissance* (Cologne, 1963), was one of the first to refer to a "renaissance," largely in the field of art; Browning refers to the "renaissance of the tenth century" (*The Byzantine Empire*, rev. ed. [Washington, DC, 1992], 153). Paul Lemerle documents the academic and cultural renewal starting in the ninth and culminating in the mid-tenth century in *Byzantine Humanism*. Averil Cameron in *The Byzantines* explains some of the limitations of the term "Macedonian renaissance of the tenth century" (156); she notes, however, that images after Iconoclasm played an even more intimate role than before, and that visual art was given a heavier task of signification (160).
11. At Monte Cassino in Italy the abbot Desiderius hired craftsmen from Constantinople to execute the decoration of the abbey of Saint Benedict and to teach the monks their skills so that they would not be lost, as recorded in the Chronicle of Monte Cassino (ca. 1075) (see Holt, *Documentary History of Art*, 13–14); the Paterikon of the Cave Monastery, founded ca. 1051, recounts that mosaicists from Constantinople were supernaturally guided—and paid—on their journey to Kiev; the craftsmen were carrying bags of mosaic cubes with which to perform the needed services (see Mango, *Art*, 221–222). An Italian state ruled by the doges of Venice rebuilt the cathedral of San Marco in the eleventh century imitating the design of the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. The decoration in mosaics was executed by artists from Constantinople, with the first campaign between 1060 and 1099; walls, vaults, arches, porches, and the five domes were covered with a shimmering tapestry of gold mosaics; see O. Demus, *The Mosaic Decoration of San Marco, Venice* (Chicago, 1988). For Sicilian mosaics executed by Byzantine artists, see also Tronzo, "Byzantine Court Culture," 101–114, and Tronzo, *Cultures of His Kingdom*.
12. Maguire, "Mosaics of Nea Moni," 205–214 esp. 213. The church was completed in 1049.
13. Ibid., 207.

14. See Thierry, "De la datation," 419–455, esp. 440–444 on patrons of the Cappadocian churches of the Macedonian renaissance, and Jolivet-Lévy, *Cappadoce médiévale*, esp. 92, on the use of the Deesis theme as a case of inspiration from Constantinople.
15. See Rodley, "Pigeon House Church."
16. See Thierry, "Image du triomphe imperial," 28–35. See also Jolivet-Lévy, "Image du pouvoir," 441–470, esp. 458. In a striking coincidence, the figure of Joshua before the Archangel appears at Çavuşin over the niche depicting the emperor Nicephorus Phocas (see fig. 1.34), and also on the east wall of the north cross arm of the Katholikon at Hosios Loukas, in a fresco that presents Joshua with highly individualized features (see Connor, *Art and Miracles*, fig. 94). Since the location of the Hosios Loukas fresco corresponded originally to a position on the west façade of the Theotokos church, this presents a puzzle that has yet to be solved.
17. Thierry, "Atelier cappadocien," esp. 120–121; see also Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byzantines*, 80–82.
18. See Woodfin, "Majestas Domini." The mosaic may have been a conflation of a Deesis and Majestas Domini.
19. See Jolivet-Lévy, *Églises byzantines*, 137–141; Restle, *Byzantinische Wandmalerei*, II, pls. 251–278.
20. *Greek Anthology*, I, 2n1. The emperors referred to are Michael III and Basil I. The inscription includes a trope suggesting that the apse mosaic was a restauration of a pre-existing image from before iconoclasm, while it is known that there was no image here previously.
21. Mango, *Homilies*, 296. For the Greek text, see Photius, *Orationes et homiliae*, 307.
22. See Mango, *Materials*, 57–63, 79.
23. Ibid., 47–48 and fig. 22.
24. Cormack and Hawkins, "Mosaics of St. Sophia," 178–251, esp. 251. It is worth noting that the portrait of Constantine I, wearing Byzantine imperial regalia (pl. 47), appears in this group of sainted figures for the first time with the iconography he will have for the next five hundred years; it is presumed the empress Helena appeared next to him. The iconophile content of this group is pointed out by Leslie Brubaker in "To Legitimize an Emperor," 139–158, esp. 145.
25. It is known that an actual throne of this type stood in the throne room, or Chrysotriklinos, of the imperial palace. The identity of the emperor here is still uncertain, but the candidates are Leo VI or his father, Basil I; see Oikonomides, "Leo VI and the Narthex Mosaic," 153–260; see also Breckenridge, "Christ on the Lyre-Backed Throne," 247–260.
26. Mango, *Materials*, 23–24.
27. Ibid., 46.
28. Ibid., 27–29. For the surprising circumstances that produced the Zoe panel in its present state, see Connor, *Women of Byzantium*, Ch. 10, 207–237.
29. Famous mosaics showing symbolic scenes of imperial donation, likely based on models in the capital, survive at San Vitale in Ravenna, Italy (sixth century) and in the church of the Martorana in Palermo, Italy (twelfth century).
30. For arguments on this point see Epstein, "Rebuilding and Redecoration," 79–92.
31. Mango, *Art*, 199–201. For the Greek text, see Legrand, "Description," 58–65. For references to another literary description, of Nicholas Mesarites of ca. 1200, see Epstein, "Rebuilding and Redecoration," 89. For Mesarites' text and Greek translation, see Nikolaos Mesarites, "Description of the Church" and G. Downey's article in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N.S. 47.6 (1957):855–924.
32. See *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors*, vol. 1 (London, 1947) and vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 1958). For a stimulating reassessment of some of the archaeological and visual evidence for portions of the upper and lower palace, see Bardill, "Visualizing," 5–45. See also Mango, *Brazen House*, and on the Great Palace Floor Mosaic see Trilling, "Soul of the Empire."
33. Mango, *Homilies*, 187–188. For the Greek, see Photius, *Orationes et homiliae*, II:434.

34. For the Greek, see *Greek Anthology*, I, 48–51, nos. 109–117.
35. See Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, 224.
36. Mango, *Art*, 203–204. For a discussion of the text see Frolow, "Deux églises," 43–91. The Greek text may be found in Akakios, ed., *Leontos tou Sophou panegurikoi logoi* (Athens, 1868); referred to as "un livre à peu près introuvable" by Frolow, this work has not been consulted by the author.
37. See Frolow, "Deux églises," 43.
38. See Mango, *Art*, 192–196. For the Greek text and translation, see Ševčenko, *Theophanis Continuati*, V:265–309. Eight of the thirty-one churches constructed by Basil I were inside the palace, and all of these were "treasure" churches, i.e., richly endowed with precious objects and relics as well as constructed of precious and highly crafted materials; on this aspect see Trilling, "Daedalus and the Nightingale."
39. Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*.
40. See Brubaker and Halden, *Iconoclast Era, Sources*, 12–13 for the earliest known example of cross-in-square church type, Fatih Camii, Trilye-Zeytinbagi (Hagios Stephanos?), of ca. 800.
41. Megaw, "Constantine Lips," 279–298; see esp. 288.
42. Ibid., 291–296.
43. See Mango and Hawkins, "Original Form," 299–315, esp. 304 and pls. 9–14.
44. Although now overpainted in keeping with the current mosque decoration, the colors were still quite bright, in out of the way places, in the 1980s when I observed them.
45. Mango and Hawkins, "Original Form," 307 and pls. 17–22.
46. Ibid., 311 and fig. 53.
47. Striker, *Myrelaion*, 23.
48. L. Bouras, *Gluptos diakosmos*, 123–134.
49. Connor and Connor, *Life and Miracles of Saint Luke*, 110–113; Connor, "Hosios Loukas," 293–308.
50. Mango, "Monuments," 351–365, esp. 358.
51. See Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, pl. 24–14; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 103 (Bodrum Camii) and 126–131 (Fenari Isa Camii).
52. See Ousterhout, *Art of the Kariye Camii*, 30–33. Another image placed at the apex of domes was the Ascension, as we can ascertain in the description of the Theotokos of the Pege, discussed above. A striking example of this dome decoration can be seen at Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki of the late ninth century (see fig. 1.32 in this volume).
53. See Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, pl. 35–24.
54. In a rare case of a surviving cross-in-square church with a few mosaics intact, the Fethiye Camii in Istanbul, of ca. 1305, has a Baptism on the lunette formed by the groin vault on the east wall in the south arm of the cross; see Belting, Mango, and Mouriki, *Pammakaristos*, color plate V and figs. 5 and 6.
55. See Ousterhout, *Kariye Camii*, 10.
56. He speaks in particular about the aesthetic of gold-ground mosaics. See Janes, *God and Gold*, 105–139, on Christian wall mosaics, especially in Italy; 139–152, on "the taste for brilliance," and Ch. 5, "The Christian Display of Wealth," 153–164.
57. Mango, *Homilies*, 186; Ἀλλα γὰρ χρυσός τε καὶ ἄργυρος τὰ πλεῖστα τοῦ ναοῦ διειλήφασιν, ὁ μὲν ψηφῖσιν ἐπαλειφόμενος (Photius, *Orationes et homiliae*, 432–433). Although Mango translates epaleiphomenos as "smeared on" I prefer a participle without the negative connotations of that term: "coating." The classical usage is applied to an athlete oiling his body: see *LSJ*, s.v. ἐπάλειμμα (2): metaphor from anointing athletes; also, ἐπάλειψις: painting over of colors.
58. See Procopius, *On the Buildings*, I.i.48–49, for an analogous image (Mango, *Art*, 75). On ekphrasis, see James and Webb, "Ekphrasis and Art," esp. 8–9; also Webb, *Ekphrasis*.
59. Mango, *Homilies*, 187–188; Photius, *Orationes et homiliae*, 434.
60. Mango, *Homilies*, 290;Ὑπόκρισις ἄρα τῆς ἄνωθεν ἐπιπνοίας ἡ ζωγράφου τέχνη οὕτως ἀκριβῶς εἰς φύσιν τὴν μίμησιν ἔστηκε (Photius, *Orationes et homilae*, 299).

61. Mango, *Homilies*, 292; Photius, *Orationes et homiliae*, 301.
62. Sermon 28: Mango, *Art*, 203. The Greek, published in Akakios, ed., *Leontos tou Sophou panegurikoi logoi* (Athens, 1868), was not available to me; however, for a discussion and French translation, see Frolow, *Deux églises*, 47. See also Maguire, "Mosaics of Nea Moni," 208 and n26, for a partial citation of the Greek text and a discussion of the association between gold and imperial splendor. For an in-depth discussion of the Homilies and relevant bibliography, see Antonopoulou, *Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI*.
63. See, for example, the Menologium of Basil II, which has chrysography in the garments of angels, Mary, and Christ.
64. See Mango, *Art*, 205, and Frolow, "Deux églises, 53.
65. See Oikonomides, "Listes de préséance," 96–97; for the highest court ranks, the awards are made of clothing ornamented with gold, for example, the curoplates: χιτὼν κόκκινος χρυσοποίκιλος ("red chiton embroidered or sprinkled with gold"), and the noblissimus: χιτὼν ἐξ ἁλουργίδοσ χρυσόθετος ("a chiton steeped in purple [dye] made with gold"). These precious garments are presented by the emperor, from his own hands. Textiles are often mentioned in conjunction with the furnishings of churches; they were no doubt part of the same aesthetic as mosaics and other luxury objects associated with the court. The term *poikilos* is also applied to church ornament, including mosaics; see Photius, Homily X, above.
66. See Ševčenko, *Theophanis Continuati*, 274–275, for facing Greek and English translation.
67. See Magdalino, "Observations," on the initiative behind this imperial church.
68. Ševčenko, *Theophanis Continuati*, 288–289.
69. Ibid., 290–291.
70. Ibid., 292–293.
71. Ibid.
72. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως ἔργα τυγχάνουσιν, ἐκ τοῦ πολυτελοῦς καὶ ἀφθόνου τῶν τιμωμένων ὑλῶν καὶ τοῦ καινοπρεποῦς τῶν σχημάτων καὶ τῆς μεγαλουργοῦ διαθέσεως τὸ μεγαλόψυχον καὶ φιλόκαλον τοῦ ἀνδρος ὑπεμφαινοντα (Ibid., 296–297).
73. See Epstein, "Holy Apostles."
74. Mango, *Art*, 200; for the Greek text see Legrand, "Description," 58, lines 742–750.
75. See Nikolaos Mesarites, "Description of the Church," 868n1; Downey, "Holy Apostles."
76. For the Greek, see ibid., 901.
77. See Haldon and Ward-Perkins, "Evidence," and Mango, *Brazen House*.

CHAPTER 3

1. Many books have been and could still be written on this complex historical period; my aim here is quite basic: to give an overview and to point out major events and currents relevant to this study. See also Jenkins, *Byzantium*; Brubaker and Haldon, *Sources*, and *History*; and Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, to name a few.
2. See Brubaker, *Inventing*, esp. Ch. 7, "The 'Triumph of Orthodoxy' and the Impact of the Image Crisis," 107–114.
3. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 183–185; esp. 185. Ostrogorsky is my personal preference and my old standby as a solid history of Byzantium, although not all might share this preference.
4. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 195–197; Treadgold, "Revival of Byzantine Learning," 1246. See also *ODB*, s.v. "Theme," 2034–2035.
5. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 208. For an in depth study of the reign of Theophilus, see the recent book by Juan Signes Codoñer, *Emperor Theophilos and the East*.
6. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 227.
7. Mango, *Homilies*, IV:102–103.
8. See Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, esp. 61–103; Cameron, "Theotokos."
9. Treadgold, "Revival of Byzantine Learning," 1247. For a summary of Basil's campaigns see Treadgold, *History of the Byzantine State*, 455–461.

10. Note the difference of opinion as to which Basil, Basil I or Basil II, is referred to in the poem, in Book VI, 2050–2054, in which an emperor named Basil pays him a visit: see Mavrogordato, *Digenes Akrites*, xli, on Gregoire's opinion; see also Jeffreys, *Digenis Akritis*, 389; Mango, *Byzantium*, 253–254; Magdalino, "Digenes Akrites and Byzantine Literature," 1–14, esp. 1, 6, 14; and Jeffreys, "Grottaferrata Version," 26–37.
11. Mavrogordato, trans., 2–3: lines 14–27 (Grottaferrata version).
12. For more on the "holy warriors," see Walter, *Warrior Saints*.
13. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 186.
14. Ibid., 203.
15. Travis, *In Defense of the Faith*, 4–17, esp. 9–10; see also *ODB*, s.v. "Nikephoros I," 1477.
16. On his education and religious views, see Treadgold, "Revival of Byzantine Learning."
17. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 209.
18. In Ostrogorsky's view, this turning point represented the "victory of the Greek religious and cultural outlook over the Asian characteristics embodied in iconoclasm" (*History of the Byzantine State*, 217). The conditions during Iconoclasm are a hot topic, and my purpose here is not to review the arguments but to state some basic results.
19. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 225; see also *ODB*, s.v. "Photios," 1669–1670.
20. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 228–230.
21. See Treadgold, *History of the Byzantine State*, 457: Photius's recall occurred around 873 after Photius prepared a genealogy showing that the emperor's ancestors were Arsacid kings of Armenia; he returned to court to become tutor to the four sons of Basil and Eudocia.
22. See Vogt and Hausherr, "Oraison," on a manuscript at the Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos that preserves a eulogy by Leo VI on his father, Basil I. The eulogy deals with religious and other issues of the reign of Basil I, including the recall of Photius from exile before he was reinstated as patriarch.
23. Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 226–236.
24. *ODB*, s.v. "Typikon of the Great Church," 2132–2133; Mateos, *Typikon de la grande église*.
25. See Tougher, "Wisdom," 175. See also Ševčenko, *Theophanis Continuati*, 292–293.
26. Wilson, *Scholars*, 65–68.
27. Ibid., 67–68; see 65 for the attribution of the origins of minuscule to Egypt in the early eighth century.
28. Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 169. Other arguments attach the invention of cursive script to the Stoudios Monastery in Constantinople and the direct example of the famous abbot Theodore and his uncle, Plato (Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 133–146).
29. Treadgold, "Revival of Byzantine Learning."
30. Wilson, *Scholars*, 68.
31. Brubaker and Haldon, *Sources*, xxiv–xxv.
32. Ibid.
33. Wilson, *Scholars*, 68–75.
34. Ibid., 75–76; Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 159–160.
35. Wilson, *Scholars*, 79–80; Mango, *Byzantium*, 139.
36. Wilson, *Scholars*, 74–75.
37. Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 175; although there has been much discussion of whether Photius actually went to Baghdad, it has been concluded he was a junior member of the embassy of 838 (see 207–209).
38. Wilson, *Scholars*, 80–81; Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 178.
39. Among the automata were the mechanical birds that sat in a gilded bronze tree, "each singing according to its species," which are reflected in this excerpt from W. B. Yeats's "Sailing to Byzantium" (1927). For the passage on the mechanical birds in Liudprand of Cremona, see Geanakoplos, *Byzantium*, 22–23, and J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Latina*, vol. 136, col. 895. For a newer translation, see Liudprand, *Complete Works*, 197–198.

40. Lemerle has called him a "truly Renaissance man" (*Byzantine Humanism*, 171, 172–204).
41. For a fuller description of Photius's "return to the roots of Hellenizing Christianity . . . to a reconciliation which was the starting-point for a long and brilliant period in Graeco-Byzantine civilization," see Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 206. For his influence on contemporaries and a description of his writings see ibid., 89–115.
42. Wilson, *Scholars*, 90.
43. See Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 209 (and n39 above), 224–225.
44. Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism* , 93–106, 226.
45. Wilson, *Scholars*, 114.
46. Ibid., 111–114.
47. Both Leo and his brother Stephen were tutored as children by Photius, according to the *Vita Basilii* in Theophanes Continuatus (Tougher, "Wisdom," 276).
48. See *ODB*, s.v. "Leo VI," 1210–1211, and on individual titles.
49. See Tougher, "Imperial Thought-World." The scandal, and Leo's eventual pardon, is presumed to be commemorated in an image over the Royal Door into Hagia Sophia (See Oikonomides, "Leo VI").
50. See *ODB*, s.v. "*De Ceremoniis*," 595–597. For the Greek with facing French translation and commentary, see Vogt, *De cer*; for the Greek with facing English translation, see Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Book of Ceremonies*. We will refer here to the text, translation, and commentary by A. Vogt, *Constantin Porphyrogénete: Le Livre des cérémonies* (Paris, 1967), to be cited as: Vogt, *De cer*.
51. See Cameron, "Construction of Court Ritual."
52. Wilson, *Scholars*, 142–145.
53. *ODB*, s.v. "Theophanes the Confessor," 2063, and "Theophanes Continuatus," 2061–2062; see also Jenkins, "Classical Background."
54. See *ODB*, s.v. "Vita Basilii," 2180–2181. See also Ševčenko, *Theophanis Continuati*.
55. See Mango, *Byzantium*, 250–251; See Ševčenko, *Metaphrastian Menologion*, 209–213, for a convenient list of the vitae celebrated throughout the liturgical year, starting on September 1.
56. Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 146.
57. Cameron, "Construction of Court Ritual."
58. See Mango, *Byzantium*, 272. Some scholars have taken a stand against the use of this term, and others admit its utility while limiting the breadth of its connotations, with the major distinction being between the Italian Renaissance and the revivals of classical features appearing in art under various dynasties throughout Byzantine history. A compromise seems most productive, for since its definition by Kurt Weitzmann in his *Geistige Grundlagen und Wesen der Makedonischen Renaissance* it has provided a useful set of distinguishing features for grouping of artworks. I will refer to the period as the Macedonian "renaissance."
59. See Magdalino, "Bath of Leo the Wise Revisited."
60. Mango, *Byzantium*, 258.
61. Jenkins, "Classical Background," 14; he was most concerned with the revival of the first half of the tenth century.
62. See Connor, *Color of Ivory*.
63. See for example, Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, and Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*.
64. See Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 201–210, and separate entries in *ODB* for some of the extensive bibliography on these manuscripts.
65. See James, *Light and Colour*.
66. For a more detailed description of the impact of a mosaiced interior, see P. F. Brown, *Renaissance*, 28–30. It is not surprising that gold-ground mosaics with their subtle colors and texture were the inspiration for the palettes of Italian Renaissance painters, starting in the late thirteenth century (30). See also Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, 10, 35.
67. See in general the work of Liz James on the aesthetics of color: "Colour and the Byzantine Rainbow," and *Light and Colour*; see also Gage, "Colour and Culture," 39–64.

68. See James, "Colour and the Byzantine Rainbow," on the importance—and neglect—of issues of color in Byzantine scholarship.
69. Evans and Wixom, eds. *Glory of Byzantium*; Evans, ed. *Byzantium, Faith*; Cormack and Vassilaki, eds. *Byzantium*.
70. By Leslie Brubaker, see esp. the following: *Vision and Meaning*, "Politics, Patronage," and "When Pictures Speak," among others (see bibliography). In her words, "It is arguably the most complex and internally sophisticated illustrated manuscript ever produced in Byzantium." (*Vision and Meaning*, xvii).
71. Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*, 2.
72. Ibid., 415.
73. Ibid., 147.
74. Ibid., 167; Photius is thought to have had a hand in the planning of these and other ninth-century mosaics in Hagia Sophia, as well as important church programs of the time; see esp. 236–267 on Photius's artistic patronage of imagery.
75. Ibid., 63–64.
76. Ibid., 67–68.
77. Ibid., 70.
78. Brubaker, "To Legitimize an Emperor," 148–149, 154, and figs. 8–10.
79. See Cormack and Hawkins, "Mosaics of St. Sophia," 241–244.
80. It has been claimed that it is "difficult to distinguish the hand of Basil I from that of Photius in the cultural patronage of the first Macedonian emperor" (Magdalino, "Bath of Leo the Wise Revisited," 115).
81. See Homilies XVII and X in Mango, *Homilies*, 290–292 and 187–188, respectively.
82. For a wider exploration of this idea, see Maguire, *Art and Eloquence*.
83. See Magdalino, "Bath of Leo the Wise," and "Bath of Leo the Wise Revisited," esp. 103 and 113: "The building was a representative product of the 'Macedonian Renaissance,' and if it strikes us as eccentric or unreal, our conception of that 'Renaissance' must be revised or refined accordingly" (98).
84. See Magdalino, "Observations on the Nea Ekklesia;" see also Magdalino, "Church, Bath and Diakonia," 165–188; esp. 186.
85. See *ODB*, s.v. "Ekphrasis," 1226–1267.
86. See for example the epigram inscribed in the church of Hagios Polyeuktos, of 512: Connor, "Epigram," 519–520.
87. For the Greek and Magdalino's translation, see Magdalino, "Bath of Leo the Wise Revisited," 116–117. The translation is not rendered according to the metrical lines of the Greek original, but is instead produced in a continuous text.
88. Ibid., 105.
89. See ibid., 103–109.
90. Trilling, *Royal Palace*.
91. Ibid., 112.
92. As Magdalino suggests, the reason the bath was demolished a half century later under the usurper emperor John I Tzimiskes was that its ideology was too threatening to the Orthodox establishment to be tolerated as a reminder of Leo's extreme views; it was thus destroyed in a symbolic act of *damnatio memoriae*. (Magdalino, "Bath of Leo the Wise Revisited," 115).
93. See *ODB*, s.v. "Theophanes Continuatus," 2061–2062.
94. See Jenkins, "Classical Background," 13; see also Ševčenko, *Theophanis Continuati*.
95. See Jenkins, "Classical Background," 15, 25–26. It is thought to be modeled on a biography of Caesar Augustus by his contemporary Nicholas of Damascus, and thus exemplifies the humanistic trend of reviving ancient literary genres typical of the Macedonian "renaissance."
96. Bekker, *Theophanus Continuati V*, 211–353; Mango, *Art*, 192–199.
97. See Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 318.
98. See Ševčenko, *Theophanis Continuati*, 296–297.
99. Ibid., 308–309.
100. See Procopius, *De aedificiis*, I:1–33.

101. See Jenkins, "Classical Background," 29.
102. See Magdalino, "Observations on the Nea Ekklesia," n43, on churches built by Constantine I and restored by Basil I.
103. See Justinian, *Novellae* LXVII; see also Procopius, *Buildings* I:8.4–6.
104. See Connor, "Epigram," 512, 516. It is perhaps worth noting that the very large church of Hagios Polyeuktos was still standing in the middle of Constantinople, with its carved epigram in clear view to anyone who entered, in Constantine VII's time.
105. See Brubaker, "To Legitimize an Emperor," 142–143; it was during Basil's reign that mosaics of Constantine and Helena were installed in the room over the southwest vestibule of Hagia Sophia (145); the biographical full-page illumination in Paris. Gr 510 summarizing Constantine I's (and Helena's) divine sanction (f. 440r) affirms a preoccupation with rulership and supernatural protection of the dynasty: Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*, 161, 170–171; see also Walter, *Iconography of Constantine*, v and vi, 54–55: "Photius was probably responsible for the discreet assimilation of Basil I to Constantine in some miniatures in the . . . Paris Homilies".
106. See Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*, 147–152, 170–172, and Brubaker, "To Legitimize an Emperor,"149; see also *Vita Basilii*, for the legend of the eagle (Ch. 5) and Elijah's appearance to Basil's mother in a dream foretelling his rise of power as emperor (verse 8) and the claim that his mother was a descendant of Constantine I (Brubaker, "To Legitimize an Emperor," 158).
107. Magdalino, "Observations on the Nea Ekklesia," 51–61.
108. Ibid., 55–56.
109. Ibid.
110. See ibid., 61; see also Magdalino, "Basil I, Leo VI," 195–196, on the reconciliation of Basil and his son Leo VI in relation to Elijah, one of the honorees in the dedication of the Nea Ekklesia, and the rehabilitation of Michael III. The ceremonies had a bearing on political agendas relating to dynastic legitimization. Dedications of churches for the Macedonian dynasty played a role in the ceremonies.
111. Ševčenko, *Theophanis Continuati*, 272–277.
112. Magdalino, "Observations on the Nea Ekklesia," 51.
113. Like the Kainourgion, the Chrysotriklinos built by Michael III had imperial portraits and a program of mosaics resembling a church program: *Greek Anthology* 106; Mango, *Art*, I:184.
114. Mango, *Art*, 209 (Theophanes Continuatus 33, p. 447ff).
115. For example, see Corrigan, "Ivory Scepter," on an example of a small object with a ceremonial function that issued a clear "statement of post-iconoclastic imperial ideology."
116. See Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*, esp. 412–414 on the patriarch's role and incentives during the reign of Basil I. See also n22 above.

CHAPTER 4

1. The material for this chapter was first presented as a paper at the Thirty-Fourth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference at Rutgers University, October, 2008: "The Sanctoral Topography of Constantinople and Saints' Images in Middle Byzantine Practice," Abstracts, 21–22.
2. Magdalino, *Byzantium in the Year 1000*, 251.
3. A number of Greek terms are used for processions: *prokensos, proeleusis, lite, litaneia, pompe*; for descriptions of their usage, see Baldovin, *Urban Character*, 405–414.
4. *ODB*. s.v. "Synaxarion," 1990–1991; Delehaye, *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels, 1902). This work is appended to the Typikon of the Great Church, HS Ms. Gr. 40, mentioned in Ch. 3.
5. See Thomas and Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*.
6. The *Menologium of Basil II* only covers the first six months of the ecclesiastical year, September to March. There are two facsimile editions: *Il Menologio de Basilio II*, 2 vols. (Turin, 1907), and also a color facsimile: *El Menologio de Basilio II*

Emperador de Bizancio (Madrid, 2005). References to the Menologium will be by page number.

7. See *ODB*, s.v. "De Ceremoniis," 595–597, and "Typikon of the Great Church," 2132–2133.
8. Janin's monumental works are *Constantinople byzantine: Développement urbain et répertoire topographique* and *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin: Les Églises et les monastères*.
9. See "Carte archéologique et topographique" in Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*.
10. The principal publications and studies are Vogt, *De cer*; Cameron, "Construction of Court Ritual," esp. 112; Mateos, *Typikon de la grande église*; and Baldovin, *Urban Character*.
11. Berger, "Imperial and Ecclesiastical Processions," 73–75.
12. See Mango, "Triumphal Way."
13. Bauer, "Urban Space and Ritual," 44.
14. See Bassett, *Urban Image*, for the huge collection of ancient statues and monuments displayed in late antique Constantinople. For a wealth of information and lore associated with these monuments, see Cameron and Herrin, *Constantinople in the Eighth Century*. A recent article by Holger Klein assembles the evidence for the role of the Imperial Palace in assembling relics, which were important in palace ceremonies and integral to the belief system as a source of power and protection: see Klein, "Sacred Relics and Imperial Ceremonies."
15. Bauer, "Urban Space and Ritual," 58.
16. Berger, "Streets and Public Spaces," esp. map (87).
17. Baldovin, *Urban Character*, 302.
18. See M. Mango, "Porticoed Street." For a summary of the early stages of building see *ODB*, s.v. "Constantinople," 508–511.
19. Baldovin, *Urban Character*, 463.
20. Baldovin, *Urban Character*, 533.
21. Bauer, "Urban Space and Ritual," 50.
22. See Meinardus, "Study of the Relics of Saints." On the sanctifying of Constantinople through the relics of saints, see Magdalino, "What we heard," esp. 111–112. On the ritual use and beliefs concerning relics in Constantinople, see Klein, "Sacred Relics and Imperial Ceremonies."
23. See Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, 14–15, for discussion of the probable founding of the church of Saint Akakios in the Heptaskalon district by 359.
24. See Janin, "Processions religieuses," 80–81.
25. Mango, "Constantine's Mausoleum."
26. Janin, "Processions religieuses"; Bompaire, "Ville de Constantinople."
27. Mateos, *Typikon de la grande église*, 42–45.
28. Ibid. For Saint Thecla and the source of her story and cult from the second century on, see Connor, *Women of Byzantium*, 1–12.
29. Baldovin, *Urban Character*, 378–379.
30. Ibid., 379–380.
31. Ibid., 380–381.
32. McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 170–171, 185.
33. The right arm of Saint John the Baptist is preserved today in the Treasury of Topkapi Saraye in Istanbul: see Meinardus, "Study of the Relics of Saints," fig. opposite p. 175.
34. Walter, *Warrior Saints*, esp. 261–266; for groupings of warrior saints on tenth-century ivory triptychs, see 274–276 and figs. 44–46.
35. Vogt, *De cer*, I, com. 23–24.
36. Kalavrezou, "Helping Hands," 56–57.
37. See ibid., 55, 78.
38. Ibid., 53. See also Meinardus, "Study of the Relics of Saints."
39. McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, esp. 35–39.
40. Mango, "Triumphal Way," 176–177 and fig. 2: the main route from the Golden Gate eastward had the following stations en route to the Milion and the Hippodrome: Sigma, Saint Onesimos and Saint Mokios, Exokionion, Moneta,

Xerolophos, Bous, Amastrianos, Capitol/Philadelphion, Modion, Diakonissa, Tauros, Artopoleia Arch, Forum of Constantine, and Praetorium. From the Capitol out to the Adrianople (Charisios) Gate in the northwest were Ta Olybriou, Constantinianae, Saint Polyeuktos/Saint Christopher, Marble Lions, and Holy Apostles.

41. See Berger, "Imperial and Ecclesiastical Processions."
42. See Bauer, "Urban Space and Ritual," 38–39.
43. See McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 216–220, for variations and changes in imperial triumphs vs. liturgical processions in the tenth century. For more on ancient spectacle see Bergmann, *Art of Ancient Spectacle*, esp. 23: "Simply, spectacles were the chief means for creating a cultural identity in Hellenistic and Roman societies." See also MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*.
44. See Bauer, "Urban Space and Ritual," 44.
45. Ibid., 34–35; for other Constantinian monuments see 27–31 and 36–38. Baldovin, *Urban Character*, 304.
46. Walter, *Iconography of Constantine; ODB*, s.v. "Constantine I," 498–500. Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, 295–298, records nine churches and monasteries dedicated to him.
47. See *ODB*, s.v. "Constantinople, Monuments of: First Period (4th–early 7th c.)," 516–517.
48. Baldovin, *Urban Character*, 306–308.
49. For Hagia Dunamis, built by Constantine I, see Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, 101.
50. See Bassett, *Urban Image*, for descriptions of the activities of the hippodrome and their relation to the imperial presence in the kathisma.
51. Bauer, Urban Space and Ritual, 46–48, posits that the newly decorated Chalke Gate was meant to replace the Golden Gate, and thus de-emphasize in ceremonial usage monuments of Justinian's predecessors. For a seminal study of the Chalke Gate see Mango, *Brazen House.*
52. See Bauer, Urban Space and Ritual, 47, in particular the procession of August, 11, 559, recorded in the *Book of Ceremonies*; it appears Justinian chose this ceremonial route to highlight his own monuments and victories along the ceremonial way (48). Another procession culminating at Hagia Sophia was that of John Tzimiskes in 971 after his victory over the Rus, described by Leo the Deacon; the emperor "led the triumphal procession through the middle of the city, which was everywhere decorated with purple cloths and, like a bridal chamber, was thickly bedecked with laurel branches and with fabric interwoven with gold, and entered the great church of the Wisdom of God (Talbot and Sullivan, *History of Leo the Deacon*, 201; see also 175 for a procession to the church of the Mother of God at Blachernai).
53. Mango, "Constantine's Mausoleum," 51–53.
54. See Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*, 147–172, esp. 172 and n115.
55. See *ODB*, s.v. "Blachernai, Church and Palace of," 293.
56. See Cameron, "Images of Authority" and "Theotokos." For the origins of the civic cult of the Virgin, see also Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 11–21.
57. See Kalavrezou, "Images of the Mother," 170.
58. See *ODB*, s.v. "Deesis," 599–600. See also Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, on the types of icons of the Virgin and their names, 75–101.
59. See Kalavrezou, "Images of the Mother," 171, and Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 49–59; the Virgin's verbal association with victory and motherhood stemmed from the sixth century, but images drawing on her motherly and protective role appeared only after Iconoclasm.
60. See Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 109–127, for the origin of the icon (Saint Luke), the Tuesday processions, and a history of the image type.
61. See ibid., 37–59 and 107–143, for the evolution of processions with icons. For a depiction in an icon of the carrying of a monumental Hodegetria icon, see London, British Museum, National Icon Collection, no. 18 in D. Buckton, ed., *Byzantium: Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections* (London, 1994), pl. 140.

62. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 53–59.
63. See Pentcheva, "Rhetorical images of the Virgin."
64. Baldovin, *Urban Character*, 376.
65. Mateos, *Typikon de la grande église*.
66. *ODB*, s.v. "Pege," 1616; Talbot, "Two Accounts of Miracles," 605–607. See *De cer* I:8 and 27.
67. See *De ceremoniis* I:27 (Vogt, *De cer*, 101–105.) and I:8 (Vogt, *De cer*, 50–53).
68. See commentary on Book I (Vogt, *De cer*, I com. 129–130).
69. See Vogt, *De cer*, I:101–105.
70. On the ancient tradition of ritual dining, see D'Arms, "Performing Culture," esp. 311–313.
71. As Dagron observes, there is: "beneath the peaceful and rather static surface of the ceremonial, a more dramatic ritual, which was designed not only to glorify the person of the sovereign but to test the nature, limits and contradictions of his power, and to confirm his suitability to receive or to preserve it" (*Emperor and Priest*, 103–104). See in general ibid., Ch. 3, "Ceremonial and Memory," 84–124.
72. See Nelson, *Hagia Sophia*, esp. Ch. 1, "The Great Church in Ceremony and Censure," 1–28, for the processions from palace to church; see Majeska, "Imperial Ritual," for a mapping and description of the ceremonial stations throughout the church. See also Mathews, *Early Churches of Constantinople*, chs. 6 and 7, 138–176.
73. Vogt, *De cer*, I:50–53.
74. For the demes, or old circus factions, and their ceremonial role, see *ODB*, s.v. "Demoi," 608–609, and "Factions," 773–774.
75. For Vogt's commentary on these monuments along the route, see *De cer*, com. I:87–90. For discussion of the stops along this route, see also Mango, "Triumphal Way." The epithet *eutuchia* (*eutuchis*) is traditionally associated with the emperor (Lampe, 578).
76. See McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 8–9, 63, 131, 214–217, for elaboration on this principle.
77. Vasiliev, "Harun," 158–159.
78. For the impact and connotations of scent, see Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*. For another eyewitness account of the time of the emperor Nicephoras Phocas (963–969) see Liudprand, *Complete Works*, "Embassy," chs. 9–10, on a procession from the palace to Hagia Sophia, 244–245. Liudprand is perplexed by the fact that the nobles wore tunics "tattered by age," remarking: "There was no one there whose ancestor owned the tunic [he wore] when it was new" (244). He was unaware that these were ancient ceremonial garments, worn with great distinction.
79. P. F. Brown, *Renaissance in Venice*, 83 and figs. 57 and 59.
80. See for example Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*; see also A. Bank, ed., *Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums* (Leningrad, 1985).
81. See, for example, Connor, *Color of Ivory*, color plates 12–14.
82. See, for example, Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 75 and fig. 39.
83. See Janin, "Processions religieuses," 80; Janin, *Églises et les monastères*," 295; and Mateos, *Typikon de la grande église*, 296.
84. Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, 295.
85. *El Menologio*, 152; see also Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, 286–289; for the procession, see Mateos, *Typikon de la grande église*, 328–329, and Janin, "Processions religieuses," 81–82.
86. Kalavrezou, "Helping Hands." See also Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, 473–474.
87. Baldovin, *Urban Character*, 380–383.
88. See *El Menologio*, 392. See also Connor, *Women of Byzantium*, 159–161.
89. See Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, 1902, 458–459.
90. Rosenqvist, *Irene of Chrysobalanton*, 2–5.
91. Ibid., 56–57.
92. Ibid.; for the Greek, see 56, lines 29–32, and 58, lines 1–2. For scents in such a setting, see Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*.

93. Rosenqvist, *Irene of Chrysobalanton*, 88–101 (Ch. 21).
94. See Connor, *Women of Byzantium*, 166–181; for monastic funerary practice regarding icons, see Connor, *Art and Miracles*, esp. 42, 70.
95. See Mateos, *Typikon de la grande église*, 78–81.
96. Bauer, "Urban Space and Ritual," 55.
97. Ibid., 57.
98. Ibid., 52.
99. Baldovin, *Urban Character*, 375.
100. Mateos, *Typikon de la grande église*, vol. II, Appendix III.
101. A useful list of saints by category appears on unnumbered pages at the ends of the volumes on Cappadocian painting by Marcel Restle (Restle, *Byzantinische Wandmalerei*): angels; prophets and Old Testament patriarchs; evangelists and apostles; warrior martyrs; female saints; patriarchs, bishops, priests, and deacons; monks; and stylites.
102. See Thomas, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*.
103. As pointed out by Rob Nelson in his lecture "The Medieval Art of Power in Byzantium" at the Art Institute of Chicago on the occasion of the 37th Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, October 20, 2011, Basil has the same stance and military apparel as the portrait of Saint Theodore Stratelates in the *Menologium of Basil II*, p. 383. Is Basil perhaps intentionally shown as a double of this military saint?
104. See Walter, *Warrior Saints*, Ch. 2, "The Major Warrior Saints: The État-Major," 41–144, for a study of these same five saints.
105. The work of Peter Brown has shown how the saints gradually took on a protective and intercessory role in late antique society, in which they were considered to be "friends," in a relationship similar to a familial one; see for example P. R. L. Brown, *Cult of the Saints*, Ch. 3, "The Invisible Companion," 50–68.
106. Walter, *Art and Ritual*, esp. 196–198.
107. McCormick, "Analyzing Imperial Ceremonies," 10.

CHAPTER 5

1. Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 6–7.
2. On taxis and ancient spectacle, see Lim, "In the 'Temple of Laughter,' " 353.
3. Cameron, "Construction of Court Ritual," 130–131.
4. See Nelson, *Hagia Sophia*, 2–5 for a discussion of the mosaics positioned at stopping points in the processions into Hagia Sophia; see also map, fig. 2.
5. See Muir, "Eye of the Procession," 132.
6. Geertz, *Local Knowledge*, 97.
7. Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, 232–236.
8. On the location of the Chrysotriklinos see Vogt, *De cer*, I com., 8–9; see also Bardill, "Visualizing," fig. 1 on p. 9, fig. 10 on p. 29, and 24–29.
9. See Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon,* esp. "Grosser Palast:" 229–237, for helpful photographs and maps of the area. See also Bardill, "Visualizing the Great Palace," esp. 30 and fig. 10.
10. See Trilling, "Soul of the Empire." See also Bardill, "Visualizing the Great Palace."
11. See Mango, *Homilies*, 184–190; for the dating, see Jenkins and Mango, "Date and Significance"; for the Greek text, see Photius, *Orationes et homiliae*, II:428–439.
12. Another early decorative program in mosaics is the Chrysotriklinos, or throne room, of between 856 and 867, noted in Chapter 2.
13. Mango, *Homilies*, verse 1 on p. 184.
14. Although a day is not set aside for the commemoration of the refounding of the Pharos church, the *Book of Ceremonies* makes frequent mention of services on the most important feast days that took place there or processions that stopped there; imperial marriages were celebrated there in the tenth century. See Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, 233–234. On the topos of "newness" see Magdalino, "Observations."

15. Mango, *Homilies*, 184–185; for the Greek, see Photius, *Orationes et homiliae*, II:429.
16. Mango, *Homilies*, 184–185; for the Greek, see Photius, *Orationes et homiliae*, 429.
17. See Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning* , Ch. 5, "The Patriarch Photios and Visual Exegesis," 201–238; for the quotation, see ibid., 400; see also Homily XVII in Mango, *Homilies*, 286–296.
18. This symbolic role of the virgin is depicted in the mosaic over the southwest portal into the narthex of Hagia Sophia (fig. 2.7).
19. Mango, *Art*, 185. For the Greek, see Photius, *Orationes et homiliae* II, 431–432.
20. Mango, *Art*, 186. For the Greek, see Photius, *Orationes et homiliae*, 434.
21. See Brubaker, "Byzantine Art in the Ninth Century," 66–67.
22. This famous trope goes back to Procopius's descriptions of the church of Hagia Sophia; see Chapter 2, n56. See also Pentcheva, "Performative Icon," 643–644, on the rich aesthetic of gold mosaics that make the spectator reel.
23. Mango, *Homilies*, 188. For the Greek, see Photius, *Orationes et homiliae* II:434–435.
24. See Lampe, s.v. διακόσμεσις, ordering, arrangement; of universe by Son (Athanasius), 354.
25. See the apse of Hagia Sophia in Kiev for this image type: Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine*, 257, color plate 148.
26. See Mango, *Art*, 184, and n7 and n9; for the Greek text, see *Greek Anthology*, I:46. The topos of replacement of an earlier image, implied in the "once again," cannot be substantiated.
27. For an early use of the rhetorical image of Virgin Mary as gate, in accordance with Ezekiel 44:2, see E. Wellesz, *The Akathistos Hymn* (Copenhagen, 1957), in which the Virgin is called "gate of the sublime mystery" in the eighth refrain and "gateway of salvation" in the tenth.
28. For the Greek inscription, see *Greek Anthology*, I:44–47 (no. 106).
29. Ibid.
30. See *Greek Anthology*, I:46–47, for the facing Greek and English.
31. The importance of color is confirmed and underlined by the inscription. For this relatively neglected aspect of Byzantine aesthetics and symbolism, see James, "Colour and the Byzantine Rainbow," and *Light and Colour*.
32. Mango, *Art*, 184n7.
33. Mango, *Homilies*, 189; for the Greek, Photius, *Orationes et homiliae*, II:436–437.
34. See Nelson, "Introduction," esp. 4–5.
35. Mango, *Homilies*, 294. For the Greek, see Photius, *Orationes et homiliae*, II:304–306.
36. See John of Damascus, in Mango, *Art*, 169–172, and Theodore the Studite, in ibid., 173–175. The formulation of icon theory is a complex matter and is not part of this point on vision vs. reading/hearing. For an in depth discussion, see Barber, *Figure and Likeness*.
37. Mango, *Homilies*, 291. For the Greek, See Photius, *Orationes et homiliae*, II:301.
38. Throughout the Middle East where there are mosaics or frescoes on walls of churches that have been mutilated, it is always the eyes of images that have been gouged out particularly fiercely, as a way of neutralizing the power of those eyes to communicate. On *damnatio memoriae*, see C. Hedrick, *History and Silence: Purge and Rehabilitation of Memory in Late Antiquity* (Austin, 2000).
39. Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, offers helpful categories for defining and applying ritual meanings; see esp. Ch. 2, "Mapping the Field of Ritual," and Ch. 3, "Modes of Ritual Sensibility" (24–57). In *Secular Ritual*, Sally Moore and Barbara Myerhoff claim that "ritual can and often does carry a message about social/cultural perpetuation," and that its formal properties mimic its message: repetition, acting, special behavior or stylization, order, staging, and a "collective dimension" (7–8).
40. Moore and Myerhoff, *Secular Ritual*, 8.
41. We will refer here to the text, translation and commentary by A. Vogt, ed., *Constantin Porphyrogénete: Le Livre des cérémonies* (Paris, 1967), to be cited as: Vogt, *De cer*.

42. For Constantine's interest in restoration, rebuilding, and in the arts, see Theophanes Continuatus, in Mango, *Art*, 207–209.
43. See *ODB*, s.v. "De Ceremoniis," 595–597; Vogt, *De cer*, com. I:xxvi; his father in law, Romanus Lecapenus, had ruled on his behalf from 913 to 944, during which time he and his family had been virtual prisoners within the imperial palace.
44. See Oikonomedes, *Listes de préséance*, 164–190 and n136 on the triklinos of the Nineteen Couches and the complex prescribed arrangements of tables and diners, especially for the feast of the Nativity (164–184) and Epiphany (184–191); see for example, Vogt, *De cer*, I:63–64, for a complex dining occasion at Pentecost.
45. Cameron, "Construction of Court Ritual," 114 and 117.
46. Cameron, "Construction of Court Ritual," 127–131.
47. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium*, 21–22; for the Greek text, see Vogt, *De cer*, I:1.
48. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium*, 21–22. For the Greek text, see Vogt, *De cer*, I:1–2.
49. In classical Greek aesthetics the symmetry or proportions of the ideal human body represents a measure of beauty. Polyclitus is known to have written a treatise called the *Canon* on this connection; copies of his corresponding statue, *Doryphoro*s (Spear Bearer), survive (see Konstan, *Beauty*, 106). Constantine's contrast of a badly proportioned human body to the kind of harmonious image of government he wishes to project (*ataxia* vs. *taxei* in the passage) would have been well understood to those who knew their ancient literature. On symmetry see Pollitt, *Art and Experience in Classical Greece*, Ch. 3.
50. Ibid.
51. Cameron, "Construction of Court Ritual," 126, 136.
52. See Maguire, "Imperial Gardens," 186–187.
53. . . . καὶ οἷόν τι κάτοπτρον διαυγὲς καὶ νεόσμηκτον ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ἀνακτόροις ἱδρύσασθαι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ τῇ βασιλείῳ ἀρχῇ πρέποντα καὶ τὰ τῷ συγκλητικῷ συστήματι ἄξια κατοπτευόμενα, ἐν τάξει καὶ κόσμῳ αἱ τοῦ κράτους ἡνίαι διεξάγοιντο (Vogt, *De cer*, I:2). I owe the literal translation of this difficult passage to W. R. Connor.
54. See commentary on Plutarch's *Pericles* 11.4: "At this time, therefore, particularly, Pericles gave the reins to the people, and made his policy on pleasing them, constantly, devising some festive spectacle [*thean paneguriken*]—either by banquets or processions—in the city. P. A. Stadter, *A Commentary on Plutarch's Pericles* (Chapel Hill, 1989), 136. The passage is also consistent with Plato, *Phaedreus* 246a–254e, on the chariot of the soul.
55. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium*, 21–22; for the Greek see Vogt, *De cer*, I:2.
56. For the varying meanings of *taxis* see Vogt, *De cer*, com. I:7, 8.
57. See for example, Kathleen Ashley, "The Moving Subjects of Processional Performance," in Ashley and Hüsken, *Moving Subjects*, in which the purpose is "to reflect upon salient aspects of processional performance that may help us understand how processions performed their cultural work" (7).
58. On garments worn in processions and their colors, see Jones, "Processional Colors."
59. The sight of spectacular objects and effects could even be understood and experienced as touch: Pentcheva, *Performative Icon*, 631, 639–640, 651. See also Vogt, *De cer*, com. I:78–79 for an explanation of the musical system found in reference to the ceremonial prescriptions; for example, *echos barus* was the third plagal tone, which had a "serious" sound, which we might interpret as equivalent to a minor key.
60. See Nelson, *Hagia Sophia*, Ch. 1, "The Great Church in Ceremony and Censure," 1–28, esp. 5, 9–12, and 22.
61. In having such images created, post-iconoclastic emperors and patriarchs were reminding the faithful of their divine election and support, "in just such a way their imperial ceremony acted out a desirable relation between secular and divine power" (Cameron, "Construction of Court Ritual," 134–135); ivories and manuscripts of the time also show imperial personages in association with Christ or the Virgin, as in the Berlin Scepter; see Corrigan, "Ivory Scepter," and "Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 30–31 and figs. 23 and 24; see also the Homilies of

Gregory of Nazianzus, Paris Gr. 510, fol. Cv: Basil I flanked by Elijah and Gabriel (Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*, 158–162 and fig. 5.

62. See for example, Vasiliev, "Harun-ibn-Yahya," 158–159; see also Oikonomides, *Listes de préséance*.
63. Cameron, "Construction of Court Ritual," 136. See also Price, *Rituals and Power*, for a perspective on Roman images and imperial ideology, esp. "The Evocations of Images," 191–206.
64. See Maguire, "Cycle of Images," esp. 124.
65. See Tronzo, "Mimesis," esp. 63–68.
66. See Nelson, *Hagia Sophia*, esp. 9–14.
67. See Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, 13.
68. Muir, "Eye of the Procession," 132.
69. According to Turner, the term "liturgy" can be broken down into its Greek components, *laos*, "the people" and *ergon*, "work": see his "Variations on a Theme of Liminality" in Moore and Myerhoff, *Secular Ritual*, 39–41.
70. On the acute vision and way of seeing of raptors, see J. A. Baker, *The Peregrine* (London, 1967; repr. New York, 2005), 35–36.
71. See Moore and Myerhoff, "Secular Ritual: Forms and Meanings," esp. 24. See also Brubaker, "Byzantine Art in the Ninth Century," which deals with "the fluid interface between objects and the shifting dialogue between objects and context" and "how art, that preeminent social construct, worked in the years after Iconoclasm" (24). See also Ashley and Hüsken, *Moving Subjects*, 7–44, on how processions perform their cultural work.
72. Brubaker, "Byzantine Art in the Ninth Century," 73, 77–79.
73. See Mathews, "Sequel," 18.
74. Mathews, "Sequel," 11–26, esp. 17–19.
75. Catherine Bell defines ritual as "a window on the cultural dynamics by which people make and remake their world" (*Ritual Theory*, 3).
76. See Nelson, "Discourse of Icons," 147.
77. On the "reality thesis," see C. Bell, *Ritual Theory*, 175–176.
78. Mango, *Homilies*, 286–296.
79. See Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, esp. 26–35 for the importance of a state-centered icon cult of the Virgin in Byzantium.
80. For an interpretation of the appearance of the Pantokrator to viewers, see Mesarites' description: Mesarites, *Holy Apostles*, 14, and Mathews, "Sequel," 19.
81. Mathews, "Sequel," 18.
82. See C. Bell, *Ritual Theory*, on ritual control: "One needs to ask, first, how ritual effects the embodiment of principles for an ordering of reality and, second, how this embodiment works within and is generative of hierarchical and/or closed societies. . . . Ritual does not control; rather it constitutes a particular dynamic of social empowerment" (181).
83. Maguire, "Mosaics of Nea Moni," 208.
84. A glance at the mosaic lunette with the Birth of the Virgin Mary, in the north cross arm at Daphni, with its elaborate bed on which Saint Anne reclines, draped with an opulent, gold-embroidered textile, elegant metal basin for the first bath, peacock fan of the serving maid, and ornate vessels carried by the other maidens, as well as their elegant clothing and belts, evoke a courtly environment (Diez and Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics*, fig. 105).
85. A brief glance at the Festal Menaion and Lenten Triodion shows the extent of these practices (*The Festal Menaion*, trans. Mother Mary and Archimandrite Kallistos Ware [London, 1969], and *The Lenten Triodion*, trans. Mother Mary and Archimandrite Kallistos Ware [London, 1978]).
86. See Tronzo, "Mimesis," 62 and n9.
87. See Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 30, and Kalavrezou, "Helping Hands," 71–79, on the use of the arm of Saint John the Baptist in processions.
88. The acclamations in Vogt, *De cer*, included metaphors for imperial victory in the case of the Annunciation (I:26), Nativity (20, 29, and 30), Epiphany (34–37), Easter (17, 34), Pentecost, and Transfiguration (34).
89. For the Greek text of both of these acclamations, see Vogt, *De cer*, I:36–37.

90. Maguire, “Mosaics of Nea Moni,” 212.
91. C. Bell, *Ritual Theory*, 187–196, esp. 195–196.
92. Connor, *Art and Miracles*, 49–50.
93. See C. Bell, *Ritual Theory*, 176: “This type of focus on ritual obscures a very basic issue, namely, the particular types of social arrangements in which ritual activities are an effective way of defining reality. No matter which definition of ritual is used, it is obvious that not every society or subgroup appeals to ritual activities in the same way and to the same degree.”
94. Ibid., 183.
95. Ibid., 184–185, based on Turner’s model: “Turner distinguished sensory and ideological poles. Then, in regard to the transformative effects of ritual, he described an interchange between these poles by which one experiences or senses the ideological as the real.”
96. See Howe, *Ceremonial Culture*: Processions, dramas, rituals and liturgies . . . each performance gave “a physical presence to beliefs or ideas that might otherwise escape direct apprehension” (1); see also C. Bell, *Ritual Theory*, 187–188: “The activities and effects of ritual have been seen in terms of ideological conditioning”; “political rituals do not refer to politics, they ARE politics. Ritual is the thing itself” (195).
97. C. Bell, *Ritual Theory*, 170; “Ritual is constructed in the image of the concerns of a particular cultural era” (222).

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